A History

OF THE

UNIVERSITY [illegible] CAMBRIDGE,

by Geo. Dyer, Esq.

with a Series of

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by

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A

History of the

University Cambridge

Vol. 1

PREFACE.

THE INTRODUCTION will contain what would naturally fall into a Preface. That gives an account of what has been done by others, towards a History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, and of what is meditated in the following attempt. Still a Preface may supply a few omissions, without aiming to forestall the reader's private judgment. To that a writer is not only bound in duty, but compelled of necessity, to submit. Yet, when two fellow-travellers, before setting out on a journey, agree to leave weightier matters to an after-reckoning, it may be prudent in them to settle smaller by a few simple preliminaries, and ordinary arrangements.

PREFACE.

ny years ago I had some fancies in my mind of what materials a History of Cambridge should consist, and, indeed, had, imprudently enough, put them down upon paper. This, however, was merely building a castle in the air, raised, indeed, with something of seriousness in design, but without any danger from experiment. It was a castle which I never thought of inhabiting: but on finding I am to be tenant, as well as builder, I perceive my aerial voyage proved a serious adventure, that I have ensnared myself with my own devices, and that I am like the legislator, who became the first victim of his own laws.

But with fairy fancies I intermeddle not now, and with my dreams readers have no concern; not being on fairy ground, but on the Terra Firma of realities, I proceed in a regular progress, and with undisturbed feelings, to a direct point.

Universities are like those springs, which flowing from high grounds, and forming brooks and rivers, and lakes, overspread the face of a country, and give it some peculiar features. They necessarily become interesting; and, as on travelling over extended regions, and observing various bodies of waters, taking different courses, men are gratified in beholding their source, so, after seeing the progress of our

universities, it may be pleasing to trace their origin. There is much to excite our curiosity—much to employ our most serious meditation: for whether viewed in a favourable or unfavourable light, it must on all hands be allowed, they have a material influence on the manners and character of a nation.

And hence the necessity of considering our Universities on the largest scale, of adapting their history to the public feeling; and, in accommodation to general readers, of giving their true character, and genuine appearance.

At the same time, though it is necessary and expedient to meet the expectations of general readers, it is desirable to meet, more particularly, those of such, as have been members of the University: and as the former, it may be presumed, may find much interest in its history, the latter, it may be expected, will find most pleasure. It is as natural for people to receive gratification from the history of the places where they were educated, as from revisiting them. In both cases, where there is a consciousness of having passed the years of early life in literary pursuits, and virtuous conduct, there will arise a thousand pleasing recollections, not affected much by the remembrance of departed friends, (for what we call melancholy feelings, are our better and more salutary ones) nor much by a

sense of the intermixture of some follies, like the ivy twining about the oak; for time acts *by our follies, as by our resentments, it teaches us to forgive and forget our own infirmities*, not less than those of others: so that, generally speaking, in retracing the scenes of early life, and not less in reading their history, there will be found a preponderance of pleasure: and hence the propriety of combining together a particular with a general interest.

This regard to particular interests is more strictly required on subjects, which involve the exercise of the human understanding. Every man of letters supposes he has a right to think for himself: and, on a review of the history of those who have been members of a university, we shall find, as might be expected, all possible variety of opinion; and this variety will be seen as well in philosophy, politics, and even poetry, as in metaphysics and theology.

And here, it being evident that those who have been members of our University are so various in their opinions, it is as evident, that one who writes the history of them should not be obtrusive of his own opinions, nor censorious of theirs. He should be of no party, or seem to be of none. He is thrown on a quiet spot, sacred to literature; a narrow neck of land, where he may look all around him, and see each un-

interruptedly take his own course; but not with leisure to listen to the eulogiums of parties in their own favour, nor with a right to adopt *their railings against their opponents. His destination is fixed by the genius of literature*, with respect to philosophy and politics, and more particularly to theology: to borrow a happy expression of Dr. Henry More's, "God has placed me in a dispensation above any sect, and wilt thou throw me down?" what was dictated to him by his own turn of thinking, may be imposed upon others by their employment.

But to leave generalization for particulars. When it seemed to fall to my lot to attempt a History of Cambridge, I soon perceived that, however inadequate to the task, I was called to a serious undertaking. I considered a University as a great object, a body of learned men, its colleges as so many aggregates, which composed it; and my duty became clear: I determined to proceed with candour and liberality, both with respect to its members departed, and with respect to general readers.

After reflection, without determining where the narrative should begin, I saw where it should end. It seemed expedient to confine it to the dead; and I was ruled by reasons of delicacy, as well as of necessity: those reasons are obvious, without explanation. So I

took a hint of Dr. Fuller's, "that when men's memories do arise, it is time for history to go to bed:" it seemed at least the rule of prudence in my case; and by this rule I have regulated myself, except where the exercises of our professors, and the course of our public history, required a little variation from a general rule.

But notwithstanding my aim at impartiality, readers will, I suspect, notice a few weaknesses. It has been my fortune, through a period of years, not very short, and from early life, to have had a large and intimate intercourse with learned members of our University: nor has this been interrupted, but rather assisted by any peculiarities in my turn of thinking. These, like letters of recommendation, introduced me to different and opposite parties, as well literary, as political and theological: so that I can truly say, notwithstanding my present seclusion, there were but few colleges, in which there did not occur the names of several members deceased, whom I formerly reckoned among my friends or acquaintance. With some I enjoyed a similarity of pursuit—with others, though my intercourse was accidental, it was interesting—from many I experienced singular kindness *. Readers, I am

* I have, I think, expressly *mentioned* only two among the deceased members of the University, as my *friends;* such

persuaded, will often discover some partiality of affection, where there is no avowal of friend-

particularizings did not suit the nature of this work, and might, besides, have subjected me to unpleasant imputations. In other respects, they would have authenticated my testimony: for an acquaintance with men leads to an acquaintance with their writings. In the two cases alluded to above, I was insensibly led on, by powerful recollections; in one, of an early college intimacy; in the other, of a long and lasting friendship, in more mature life; in both of a combination of great and good qualities.

But the omission of such a notice was, perhaps, blameable, in the case of Dr. Askew, who was my earliest friend, the patron of my youth; and, though he died before I went to college, and he could realize his friendship, it was natural, under Emmanuel College, that my recollections should be awakened, and that I should feel a pleasure in paying every respect to his memory. Besides, my knowledge of Dr. Askew, though so many years ago, was not without its uses on the present occasion. I was honoured with his notice when I was not above 14 years old, and during four or five years I enjoyed very frequent opportunities of seeing many of the Cambridge literati, who frequented his house—men well known to the learned world—most of those, whom I recollect, have been long since dead; but I live to remember them. And this early knowledge, with Dr. Askew's communicativeness, though interrupted by different connexions and different pursuits in after-life, made at the time a strong impression on my mind, and had left matter for much pleasing recollection. These impressions and recollections have, in several instances, excited a curiosity, and assisted inquiries, much connected with the following undertaking.

ship: but when respect for friends does not lead us to be unjust to others, such partialities, being only grafts on those general principles, require no apology.

To speak the truth, this was one of the pleasures inseparable from my employment. It is like recovering objects from the end of a perspective, by bringing what was distant and almost out of sight, more full in view. And it may be observed, that as death levels all distinctions, so it levels all parties. We forget differences of opinion, and clashings of interest: the old affections return to their old place: we live, as it were, over again; and as Plato made knowledge to be only reminiscence, so may old regards, after a lapse of years, become intellectual acquisitions, and dispense present enjoyment.

Similar to these partialities may be considered some predilection for my old College. Towards the places of their education most people, I believe, are sensible of some prejudices, somewhat resembling the fondness which they feel for a parent. It is a natural affection, and may exist without any present interest or the slightest expectation: and hence, as will be observed in the proper place, the more minute account of that college; not, perhaps, that I previously possessed more knowledge of that than of some

others: but I thought it a duty to acquire such a knowledge, and I felt a pleasure in the communication *.

But on these matters I dwell no longer, least I should intrude on the Introduction. It re-

* This college-partiality had nearly prevailed on me to break in upon my general rule, to confine the narrative to the dead. For when writing the account of Emmanuel College, I was not wholly unacquainted with the writings of some learned men of this college, now living, and I noticed them with respect, and, indeed, the smallest pamphlet, which occurred to me as written by a member of that college, was duly registered. But on resurveying my mode of proceeding towards other colleges, and the effect which such particularizings left on the work (for every species of writing should present some unity of design), it occurred to me that academics in general might think I had already shewn sufficient college-partialities, and that to carry them further would look something like college-flirtations: so (for our first thoughts are not always our worst) I was brought back to my general rule, of confining the narrative to the dead; fearful, too, as I was, that readers might have just reason for addressing me with the rebuke of the Roman poet—

——————Amphora cœpit
Institui, currente rota, cur urceus exit?
Horat. Ars. Poet.

Such a course, then, would have broken in upon the uniformity of appearance, as well as upon general rules: but the above allusions will shew the order of particular affections, and the reality of my college feelings.

mains still to speak a few words in the way of acknowledgment and apology.

I acknowledge my obligations, then, to several kind friends both in town and country, who have occasionally assisted me in examining the proof sheets of these volumes, which, to one whose sight is treacherous, was an essential service, it having preserved me from several errors of the press, and often from errors of more consequence: I have, also, been obliged to others, for the loan of books, very serviceable to me in the course of the work. The acknowledgments in cases which concern the authenticating of any particular parts of the history, will be made in the proper place.

Room, and great room, there is also for apologies. Some apology should be made for the delay of the publication so long beyond the time announced; and, I fear, I must take the whole of the blame: none, at least, is attached to the proprietors of the work. The announcement, indeed, was theirs; though my engagement the occasion. But to enter on those particulars would answer no purpose here: and, persuaded I am, intelligent readers will think, that I should rather apologize for publishing so soon, than for delaying so long: they well know, that even the poet's Pegasus, winged and light, should not be kept always on a violent gallop;

but that the poor prose-pad, like a pedlar's, with more of burden on his back, than he well knows how to bear, should be left to take his slow, quiet pace. Such readers must perceive, that I am speaking what I cannot but feel. I entered on this work certainly with considerable materials, and, since engaging in it, in reading, in thinking, in correcting, and improving, I have proportioned my labours to my undertaking. But this tended to delay, not to expedition. It was like plying the bellows in a dark room, where you perceive light, as you enkindle a flame. For every step I advanced, I did but more clearly see, how much farther I might go.

Here too readers, and some writers, may be reminded of the effect produced, by finding a pleasure in your employment. Notwithstanding what I have said of the poor pad, and his burden, they will recollect, that some burdens are sweet—you lose the sense of weight by the deceptions of fancy, and occasional rests; and in proportion as your journey becomes more agreeable, you are in danger of growing more dilatory.

But besides all this:—After finishing, as I thought, or nearly finishing, my labours, I was visited by a long illness: my recovery was not expected: after feeling a little natural anxiety, among my last concerns, I had taken my leave of my poor papers. I had left them, I knew, in

confusion, and they fell into worse disorder. Some parts were deposited, I doubt not, by myself, in some book, or among other miscellaneous papers; but my recollection failed me, and I was never able to recover them.—Here, then, fresh matter, new arrangement, and recomposition, became necessary. Happily, I found some of my old copy, from which my papers had been originally transcribed, my memoranda too were in a known place; I can with confidence, indeed, say, that these aberrations have led me to take a surer aim; that these mortifications have urged me to more diligence; that disappointments have excited stronger exertions, and that my confusions terminated, after great labour, in a better arrangement; so that, on a serious retrospect, I have abated my own chagrin; and, I hope the reader will have no reason to complain: for *could* the work have been expedited, it ought to have been delayed; and it is not for those who are creatures of circumstances, to aim at, or expect, impossibilities. The circumstances, which govern man's life become the rule by which candour should judge of his actions. Still the circumstances, as thus stated, have occasioned various interruptions, and unexpected delays.

Some omissions, and I fear two or three trifling repetitions, will be consequent upon these de-

rangements. The present Preface is not that which I originally wrote; and I fear it has forestalled one or two ideas, which belong to the Introduction. I have omitted many observations that I made on our most ancient charters, confirming what I have hinted relative to their inauthenticity. These, indeed, I afterwards found: but, for the present, I thought it best to suppress them. And in some of the colleges I found gaps, (more particularly in Trinity Hall and Sidney College), which I could not fill up with the first matter: but by closing them with fresh materials, I hope, if they cannot escape the penetration of the reader, they will obtain his indulgence.

As to errata, I have followed my own discretion, and make no TABLE of them. Should they be more than I am aware of, they must submit to the whoresome castigations of criticism: if only such as are incident to human infirmity, they must shelter themselves under the protection of candour. The variety of the subjects contained in these volumes will, it is hoped, form something of apology.

Some additions, also, have been the consequence of my interruptions: for, as light breaks through chinks, so through the gaps of our own minds, (and what are broken lucubrations on paper, but such gaps?) fresh thoughts will start

forth; and we may not choose to dismiss them. All the Appendixes are after-thoughts; and, if I may judge from the pains taken to conduct through these accidental openings certain subitaneous glimmerings to their proper place, so as to illustrate other subjects, these unexpected inter-coruscations of thought will not be reckoned *unfavourable* interruptions, nor my improvement of them my slightest efforts.

A little irregularity, with regard to chronological order, may be put to the same account. A work thrown into confusion cannot be replaced all at once, nor its parts, perhaps, restored in their natural order: some time must be employed in collecting together the "disjecti membra," and aptly to replace them may require considerable care. This will account for a little perturbation in the order of the colleges. The derangements alluded to relate to the second volume; where it was expedient to print the chapters as they could be completed; and the consequence is, that two or three colleges of a later date take precedency of the more ancient; a perturbation, indeed, but rather of place, than matter, and but of little consequence, being without any thing incommodious to the narrative.

Judging, from the brevity of our Cambridge Historiettes, some, perhaps, may think an apo-

logy required for the length of this. If so, let the apology be, that something of conscience was forced into exercise. It is observed by Sir William D'Avenant, "that those who write from conscience grow commonly the most voluminous; because the pressures of conscience are so incessant, that she is never satisfied with doing enough;" and in a work of this kind, though not wholly for the reasons which he assigns, this is true: for whoever compasses the subject, will find it of a nature not to be compressed. It is true, the early part of our history might have been passed over as insignificant; some particular class of writings considered as having a claim to notice, and the rest not worth mentioning; two or three of our eminent men held up, and all the rest thrown into shade: but Conscience remonstrated against such canons for writing Cambridge history. And now, at the close, I must apologize to myself for its brevity. The observation of a writer, "that could he have commanded more time, he would have made a shorter work," true in some cases, is not true in this. It is already longer by one half of the last volume, than was intended; and according to any supposed number of years employed on it, there might have been produced, without any violence to facts, or excess of labour, double the number of volumes.

One apology requires the utmost delicacy. Before I entered on this work, it was not without very serious remonstrances against it in my own mind; and after undertaking it, not without as serious resolutions, as to the mode of conducting it. Nature formed me of a constitution, that obliges me to see things in my own way, and to follow my own light. Hence it was, I did not count upon calling in foreign assistance, and even felt serious difficulties against receiving several offered communications. It is generally true, though certainly with some exceptions, that the same mind that forms a plan, should execute it: but there existed particular circumstances in my case, for abiding by it. My fortune has led me, at different periods of my life, to have intercourse with persons of different pursuits, and of very opposite opinions, relating to the University, and their views might not have been easily combined, on the present occasion, into one interest. The course of proceeding then that I set out with was dictated by prudence. In the work in which I was embarked, I had already a little experience: I knew myself to be under the guidance of justice; and the determination formed certainly delivered me from something of perplexity and embarrassment. At the same time, this predetermined course has created uneasinesses of another and a more delicate kind;

and but for these, I should not probably have mentioned the other. One or two offers of communications were kindly made, which I must certainly have been proud to receive, but which, as certainly, I was not prepared to expect. And a present disposition having to encounter a former resolution, might occasion me to hesitate, at first, on the proposal; though I soon recovered the proper tone of feeling: for in the cases alluded to, in spite of all my rules and resolutions, a cheerful acceptance would evidently have been the pre-eminent prudence, as there would have been in it an indisputable propriety. But owing, I apprehend, to something like an air of hesitation in me, not rightly understood, no such favours have been received. I wish those whom it may concern, (and the less others know to what I allude the better) to understand, that I speak from the strongest feelings, sensible as I am of the numerous defects of these volumes, and that certain respectable communications would have been duly acknowledged by me, as they must have been among my greatest recommendations.

With respect to subjects purely of a literary nature, I have not held myself bound by rules of rigid restraint; for though, in matters on which party is apt to fly into extremes, inconsistent with the moderation of history, it seemed

incumbent on me to keep, with Locke, the high ground of his Free Toleration, so as rather to survey, than take a part, to narrate, than to decide, yet, on descending into the walks of literature, where men can walk together more amicably, I have ventured, occasionally, and, indeed, sometimes freely, to intersperse observations, so far as concerns matters of taste and criticism.

Here the academical student will observe, that his more favourite pursuits, his ancient habits, and his lawful expectations, are consulted: and, it is hoped, that intermixtures of literary and critical remark, on subjects which admit of them, as they will give something of variety, if not embellishment, to the narrative, will require no vindication.

But to revert to, and to dwell a little longer on, *opinions*:—this, as already has been shewn, related to subjects which admit of more serious dispute, on which men are wont to engage with something of the air of combatants. Here my duty seemed to be to sit quietly among the spectators, not to descend into the arena; and on observing what excited most of the public interest, rather as a registrar, to record the event, than as the herald, to proclaim a victory. Hence it is, that on theological and political opinions I maintain no arguments; on public

proceedings, on either side, I form no decisions; and even to the interferences of the higher powers I make no oppositions, except, in a few instances, where public authorities, in former times, encroached on the liberties of the University, or the University on private liberty.

Indeed, a deference to private opinion, or even to private profession, is not only followed as a feeling of conscience; it was enforced by reasons of necessity. Ever since human policy has been exercised in society, and religion been capable of answering worldly purposes, (and when were they not?) we are not always to look for the real sentiments of learned men in their writings. Among the great mass of writers, whom I have been obliged to peruse, I could not but sometimes perceive this. There are formalist-writers as well as formalist-worshippers. Bigotry is very prompt at looking into men's consciences; yet how often is she mistaken in their *faiths!* So, as the widow's cruse gets lower, her little consequence should grow less. Who is true to his church, whether he be Papist, Episcopalian, or Puritan; and who to his opinions, whether he be Arian, Socinian, or Methodist; Unitarian, Trinitarian, or Deist; let others settle. Believing "Sincerity to be Christian Perfection," and to be perfection under every form of religion, I

venerate it, wherever it is, without knowing, perhaps, in whose bosom it resides: zeal and formality, sincerity and insincerity, profession and possession, are not distinctions that will be made here. I have nothing to do with men, but with their writings. I am reminded of what one of our old masters of St. John's College said, who lived in canting times: being, on a certain election, urged to use his influence for the *godly*; "This is a case," he replied, "which relates not to *godliness*, but *learning*. Besides, men may deceive me with their godliness; they cannot with their learning."

As to matters of antiquity, they, perhaps, like flowers on a common, are liable to be made any man's property, and any one may pluck them. Several things that relate to ancient proceedings must be subject to this rule: a few hints, therefore, concerning some of our old charters will excite no alarm, and can excite none, with those who have attended to the subject. Some of our old charters bear a date before public charters were known either in England or Scotland. Dr. Hickes, so conversant in the antiquities of this country, has shewn that our earliest charters were of the Saxon times, and that those preserved by our countrymen, as the most ancient, are spurious; some of our monkish ancestors being better mecha-

nics than antiquaries or historians. But here I have rather dropped hints, than given proofs, not through want of confidence in my arguments, but through fear of over-burthening the narrative.

Similar, perhaps, to this sort of freedom may be considered such as I have allowed myself to exercise towards those, who have preceded me in this walk of literature. There are subjects, on which, such as wish to arrive at knowledge, must be indebted to their predecessors. But we may listen to their testimony, without a uniform imitation of their manner, or an implicit deference to their authority. Had nature designed me for a copyist, I should have been endued with less of a turn of thinking for myself, with more humility, and less industry. As it is, I held it a duty to keep other writers in view, rather than tread servilely in their steps. He who trifles with the opinions of others, or grows wanton over their mistakes, does it at his own peril: he who obeys his conscience, and follows truth, has nothing to fear. But to speak truly, I have had some regard to the public judgment, whatever that may be, of these attempts, and conceive, that whatever respect is due to antiquity, greater is due to posterity. I have been now employed in this work three years; but from the INTRODUCTION, it will appear, I have been

engaged in inquiries connected with the subject more than thrice that time: and, to speak the truth, there will be found in these volumes, the result of a life, not very short, trained to certain habits of reflection. During the time, in which I have been actually engaged on them, I have secluded myself from the world, and to the great sacrifices I have made, must be added, what I think not the least, almost a total privation of the society of my friends: but I felt as one who had a duty to discharge to the public, a task to which, however unequal, I have sacrificed every feeling, and every interest. So that the reader may conclude, while following my own judgment, I have not acted as one who might trifle with the public, or had a right to presume on it; and whatever it may be, I shall submit to it, with the consciousness of one who has aimed to act right, without much either of apprehension, or expectation; with feelings towards those who have gone before me, of one who was not obliged to take every thing that came to hand; of one who has aimed to add a little to the common stock, rather than to live on the old hoard; conceiving, that those who act otherwise towards preceding writers are to be considered rather as private plunderers, than fellow-labourers.

But as to freedoms that I have allowed myself towards writers of Cambridge history, they will

be found, after all, intermingled with due acknowledgments and decent respect; and hence it is, I have felt a pleasure in registering their names, like a mason of the same lodge. As to those whose researches have entitled them to the name of Cambridge antiquaries, it will be found from the following pages, that I have laboured with no small assiduity over their writings, to do them justice, and have dwelt with something of gratitude on their memories; and, (though no plagiary, I am aware, is reckoned so poor as he who pillages from his own writings) yet, to demonstrate this to be no recent, extemporaneous feeling, I shall quote something written by myself many years ago, and at a moment when I was censuring a Cambridge antiquary, who had himself been censuring a man of considerable genius and learning.

"It is no uncommon thing to hear pursuits of this kind made the subject of ridicule by men of fancy. What may not be so treated? But their importance and utility cannot be denied. It is not, perhaps, desirable to see men of the first genius shooting with this bow, because their sinews are formed for essays more pleasing and illustrious. But the scope of the antiquary is still wide and large. To his patient toil and plodding perseverance, the chronologist, the biographer, the historian, and the poet, stand emi-

nently indebted; and works the most splendid in form, and which are constructed for the admiration of posterity, rise out of ordinary documents and researches, which may appear unpromising and trifling. Who can calculate on the consequence of a single date, sometimes to an individual, sometimes to a family, and sometimes even to the public?

——χαρις σμικροισιν οπηδει.

Monuments and their inscriptions considered in another point of view, as efforts of expiring mortality, which sighs for a little remembrance beyond the grave;—or as tributes of surviving relatives and friends, who labour to preserve a name, which they wish not to be quite obliterated;—do but favour a wish natural to the human heart, a desire incident to the best and purest part of our species. Under the greatest debility of his frame, and amidst even a wearisomeness of existence, man still feels the tender and endearing tie of life, and is solicitous not to be forgotten: and he who preserves a monument from mouldering into ruin, who records a name, or who rescues an inscription, that is nearly effaced, humours a useful propensity, the universal passion, and he is entitled in his turn not to be overlooked as a trifler, or as a labourer about nothing, *operose nihil agendo.*

For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing, anxious being e'er resign'd,
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
Nor cast one longing lingering look behind?

On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
Some pious drops the closing eye requires;
Ev'n from the tomb the voice of nature cries;
Ev'n in our ashes live their wonted fires.—

And with regard to our poets—I hope I shall be forgiven some old propensities. Had I not feared, that my partialities would have produced encroachments on these volumes, I should probably have been tempted to enlarge upon poesy and poets: and this I could have easily done, being at the time I engaged to write this History, in the midst of a work, both critical and poetical, of some * extent. As it is, I hope the occasional quotations, principally from Cambridge-poets, though such matters have not usually been introduced into Cambridge histories, will not be foreign to the *nature* of them, which (resembling, in this respect, poetry itself) ought to be, to please as well as instruct. It is hoped, these little artifices of poetry may sometimes relieve the reader, where the narrative begins to grow tedious: and if so, they will

* Two volumes of the POETICS were printed; four were intended to be published.

correspond with the genuine intent of poetry, and its great fundamental rule, which, according to Plutarch, is to please, so as to operate amidst more solemn studies, like an amulet, or charm *.

Ε.θ' ενι μεν φιλοτης, εν δ' ιμερος, εν δ' οαριϛης.

There dwells desire, and love, and many a charm.

As to the other embellishments, I mean the plates, I have to lament, that while describing the colleges and public buildings, I did not hold intercourse with the artist, so that my descriptions might have corresponded with his designs more invariably than they will be found to do here. The character of the artist is well known, and his plates are executed with equal faithfulness and taste; they will unquestionably be ornaments, as well as illustrations, of these volumes; and often supply their defects. But with respect to the descriptions themselves, the reader must, in smaller things, receive them *relatively*, not always to the *plates*, but to places and buildings, which, as if being on the spot with my traveller, I am pointing out to him as a sort of Ciceroni.—But, I must repeat, after examination, that the plates themselves are very faithful representations of what they are intended to be.

† Plutarch's Treatise, Πως δει των Πο[illegible] [illegible].

One word more, which, whether of apology or explanation, I beg leave to subjoin. Since I have been engaged on this ESSAY towards a History of Cambridge (for such, indeed, it must be considered, and no more), I published (or rather republished) "FOUR LETTERS on the English Constitution," and I was gratified to find they were approved by some well qualified to form a judgment. Among the reasons assigned for republishing them, one was, that I wished readers to consider them as a pledge, that however I was then employed, I was not likely to take a course inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our Constitution: the other was, that from the picture painted in my own mind, I was desirous of forming an exemplar to my own conduct. And now, as I hope with respect to my readers, I have redeemed the pledge, and as I feel I have satisfied my own mind, (at least on that point) I leave for their reflection and my own, the words formerly quoted: "Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta, in illustri posita monumento, intueri; inde tibi tuæq. reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias: inde fœdum inceptu fœdum exitu, quod vites *."

* Livii Hist. sub initio.

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HISTORY, &c.

INTRODUCTION;

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BY OTHERS, AND WHAT IS ATTEMPTED IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES, TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THOUGH not confident enough to believe I shall answer the expectations of all readers, I am not ignorant what many readers will expect in a History of the University, and Colleges, of Cambridge.

The Introduction, then, must be considered as the points of sight of a complete History, but only incidentally of mine. Readers often, and reasonably, require what they will not see performed; and authors, like improvers of rural scenery, may even see further themselves, than they can execute, either to the satisfaction of their readers, or conformably to their own design.

What inquisitive and more rigid inquirers might demand in such a history, might be, first, Information on the Charters and particular Statutes of the Institutions. These are, indeed, the very instruments which give them being and form, with all their privileges and rights; and, though through distance of time, or accidents of place, they are perceived only in a general way, or may even become obsolete, still like the bases and buttresses

of a building, these charters and statutes are the support on which the foundations severally rise, and by which they should be rightly examined. Some account, then, of charters of foundation, and statutes, necessarily involving too, as they must, many points of history and antiquity, will be looked for by some as a leading article in a work of this kind; and antiquaries at least would deem that a meagre work, which should keep the Archives of the Institutions, of which it treats, wholly out of sight.

What next becomes the natural subject for inquiry in a seat of learning, is, without dispute, the philosophy of the place. This, like the operations of mind in general, is a work of progress, neither to be made, nor exhibited, all at once. Some may ask, perhaps, in the pride of modern literature—what was the philosophy of those times, when monasteries and colleges were first erected? And others, as forward to reply—The philosophy of the dark ages. True: but the darkness of those ages was their light, as in a future age, our light will, on various subjects, be considered as our darkness. Whatever the philosophy or religion of our ancestors might be, they were the philosophy and religion of their age, a trembling light in a misty sky, yet the characteristic feature of an existing people, as much as a sun could be in all its glory; and, what forms the character of a nation cannot but be a prominent feature in their history.

True it is, these times were the periods so bustling, and military, and full of events: private feuds and public insurrections left but little room for the calm studies of literature; wars and devastations, massacres, rebellions and revolutions, were the ordinary occurrences, diversified indeed, and, it may be, somewhat embellished, by

feats of chivalry, and tales of romance. It was the age of refined savagery. Philosophy was not to be found in the halls of princes, nor in the castles of their nobles: their ambition was in the field, and their profession was only arms. But they had moments of pause and reflection: then they founded religious houses and colleges—thither, as to a focus, all their scattered rays of knowledge were drawn; and all we can know of their philosophy and literature we must be content to gather amidst dreams of monks, and impostures of the priesthood.

Yes! it is through those rustic and close avenues, that we walk to the more ample, airy space of modern science: and there even our self-esteem may unite with our love of truth, to exact liberal description and circumstantial detail: so that the philosophy of the place, in its progress from something very confused to something more clear and perfect, becomes a consideration, with which readers, of any learning themselves, can never dispense.

In connection with this, men of genius and taste will expect to find some allusions to the state of the arts. Not that our Universities were ever academies, in the sense of the word as now used in modern Europe, for academies of the fine arts; or that our colleges display that exhibition of excellent paintings which are found as well in the colleges, as palaces, of Italy; when colleges were first built, painting had not been much subjected to the rules of an art; it was all grotesqueness; it savoured only of the cloyster; it had advanced but little beyond the daubing of a saint, and a founder of a college, or of the gaudiness and glitter of a Romish missal. Yet, what then? what there was of art among our ancestors was to be found principally in those houses, where abbots were architects, and monks and nuns were limners; and in our

colleges, as well as our other public buildings, of the University, an intelligent observer will trace the progress of architecture. At Cambridge we have few good paintings; our good portraits are but few—there are some—and we have remains of Saxon architecture, the most perfect examples of the Gothic, and some admired specimens of all the Grecian orders.

And, though it may not be expected of an historian to speak much in the language of the painter, or to come with his line and rule, and to adjust the proportions of arches, of columns, of entablatures, and pediments, with the minuteness of a professor; yet in the description of edifices he must sometimes use the terms of art; and, though he has only time to take a rapid glance, and can speak only as it were from the eye, still he must consult the taste of the times, and, occasionally, delineate the immediate appearance, and general aspect of a building.

Next to buildings, it may be expected by some, that the groves, gardens, and public walks ought to be considered: these are parts of our whole; and in these environs and retreats of our Lyceum, not only the passing traveller lingers with delight, but academical students pass their hours of relaxation and ease.

In every serious work there should be room left for occasional embellishment, places—which resemble the scenery about a large portrait.—In a history of an University, the aspect of the country, and the places consecrated to retirement and contemplation, cannot fairly be overlooked. With respect to the former, though we have nothing which calls from the occasional visitor the language of rapture; no amphitheatre of rocks, nor chain of lofty mountains; no transporting vallies, nor charm of lake-scenery: no impetuous sounding torrents, nor

streams of fire bursting from the bowels of the earth; no sounding shore, no elevating boundless expanse of ocean; though, in a word, we have but little that is enchantingly beautiful, or majestically, transportingly grand; but little that invites the landscape gardener, and admirers of the picturesque; still there will be found even here, what will repay description, and should be worth perusal.

The school of Plato, his academia, it is well known, was a small garden, adorned with statues, and planted with plane trees: Cicero has made a happy allusion to it, and Pliny has given a beautiful description of his own. Cowley, an enthusiast to Cambridge, we must suppose by his own testimony, was greatly attached to her groves[a]; and though Milton was not so, we have chosen to consecrate Christ College garden to his muse, by ascribing a fine old walnut tree to his planting. And of his own description of garden-scenery, at least, we may say, manet vero et semper manebit: sata est enim ingenio. Nullius autem Agricolæ cultu stirps tam diuturna, quam poetæ versu seminari potest. There may, therefore, be those, who, when they visit a place consecrated to philosophy, may choose to be conducted to her gardens and favourite retreats, though the historian hastening to weightier matter may, perhaps, too fastidiously exclaim with Gray, "I have no magical skill in planting roses. I am no conjurer there."

Bibliographical observations will, of course, be looked for by those called learned readers. Our Universities and Colleges present an assemblage of libraries; and

[a] "O sacri fontes, et sacræ vallibus umbræ,
Quas recreant avium Pieridumq. chori."

COWLEY.

libraries are the wardrobes of literature; whence men properly informed might bring forth something for ornament, much for curiosity, and more for use; not merely as those, who string together without meaning, end, or taste, fragments

> "Of polish'd and piebald languages."
>
> HUDIBRAS.

but as those, who know the value of ancient MSS and books for the purposes of general literature, or some of the nicer inquiries of criticism, to settle controversies, and to silence cavils. Here even the writer of a catalogue only might render immense service to the investigator of antiquities, to students whether classical or metaphysical, political or theological. A learned reader may, indeed, easily look for more information than can be crowded into a work, aspiring at general utility, though he might feel gratified to find, that what afforded him amusement, could administer, at the same time, to his favourite studies.

But some readers, (and, I believe, most thinking readers) will raise their expectations highest towards biography: I think most justly; and to that point a writer should push his most serious attention and principal care. For what is a state? Not brick and stone, and mortar; not triumphal arches, nor mausoleums that would cheat the grave: not written constitutions, ancient privileges, nor rights upon charters; but "men, high-minded men.*" And what are Universities? not senate-houses, libraries, and schools; not gardens and groves; museums and chapels; nor yet monastic dreams, clerical

* Sir William Jones.

impostures, temporary disputes, and antiquated statutes; but students, scholars, social and rational beings. Universities should be κοινον παντων παιδευτηριον, as Diodorus calls Athens; the common house of instruction in all things; and more, it should be the house of instruction for *all men*. It was on this ground that Lysias lays his claim for the paramount excellence of the Athenian state. Universities relate to men more than things; and if they comport with the dignity of the name, they should relate rather to men as connected in civil society, than as broken into sects, and parties, by disputatious polemics. Readers of their history have a right to expect the most liberal principles in those who write them; and such writers as are unbiassed by party feelings, will best meet the views and wishes of, at least, humane and enlightened minds.

Biography is the light of history, and should be the very soul of an University History. A biographical sketch of the founders of colleges, some account of persons distinguished either by original genius, patient research, or happy discoveries, and known in the world by their literary works, will necessarily be considered as the conspicuous luminaries: but sometimes, perhaps, writers less known, or who have not as yet been noticed in a history of this kind, may hold out a pure light; and zealots who are accustomed to respect only their own party, may overlook many justly entitled to some notice, undervalue many worthy of public esteem, and frequently speak only to slander and misrepresent. And, what shall I say? As ages are past and gone, and we have but fragments of their ruins, so ages of men are still passing away, and what occurred too late for one historian to record, falls to his province who succeeds.

Finally, academical habits and degrees, local customs, privileges, and benefices, may seem to claim their appropriate chapters, in an University history: but things of this kind being accurately unfolded in their proper places, in numerous publications, and being so minute, and in detail so various, may not suit every plan of history. Those who merely visit an University, are apt to be pleased with forms and habits, ceremonies and titles, they are novel, some rather splendid, and all characteristic of the place. A description of University privileges, and College benefices too, might gratify the curiosity of some, and serve the interest of others: but might encroach, beyond their due portion, on views of general utility. Judicious readers will form their expectations on such subjects from the nature of a work: a minuteness on all subjects is not suited to every publication, nor is it reasonable to expect it, and where matters of mere form, and local peculiarities, have been minutely detailed, and repeatedly narrated, actum agere may be dispensed with: Cambridge Guides and University Calendars are always at hand; and it may be no less prudent than convenient, to make a general reference to what has been written before, than to detail all the particularities over again.

Having thus considered what different sort of readers may expect in a work like the present, I proceed to shew what has been done by others, and what is attempted in the following history.

The first and most authentic documents, then, respecting Cambridge, lie in the archives of their respective Colleges; and consist of charters of foundation, licences of mortmain, and bulls of Popes; of papers relating to livings, estates, and benefactors; to the customs and jurisdiction of the University, and fragments of College

History. Many papers relating to different Colleges are in the libraries so rich in MSS. Archbishop Parker's in Bene't's College, and Gonville's and Caius's. In the University there are but two or three, with the exception of Mr. Baker's.

The Bodleian Library at Oxford contains MSS. which relate to Cambridge: but the Harleian, Cottonian, and Sloanian Libraries, in the British Museum, are very abundant. I am, indeed, disposed to believe, that those three libraries possess more concerning Cambridge than all the Cambridge MSS. in the public and private libraries put together, and of the principal of these MSS. whether in the libraries at Cambridge, or in the Museum, it may not be improper to say a few words.

The principal of those that relate to the University at large are preserved in the public chest, and by the Vice-Chancellor and Registrar; and of these the best known is the famous Liber Niger, or Black Book, of which more in its due place. At present I shall only say, that, before Mr. Hare made his *Collection*, this book was considered of great use, though some part was never considered as of any authority.

In the year 1587, Robert Hare, Esq. formerly of Caius College[a], completed his famous Register of all the Charters, Liberties, and Privileges of the University and Town, of which the original is in the public chest. The Vice-Chancellor and Registrar too has each a copy, made by Hare himself in 1589[b].

[a] In Caius's library there is, among the MS. collections, another MS. written by Mr. Hare.

[b] It will be seen by the following inscription, that Hare was a catho-

However little consequence some of the originals possess, yet as a transcript, Hare's Collections are allowed by all to be faithful, correct, and of the highest authority; and Hare received the public thanks of the University for his most assiduous performance.

There are four large volumes of this collection, of which three relate to the University, and one to the Town. An index to these volumes was written by Dr. Parris, of Sidney College, in 1735, and afterwards passed through the hands of Dr. Ashton, Master of Jesus College. Both were Vice-Chancellors in their turn, and by right of office possessed Hare's Register; and few men were ever better acquainted with the affairs of the University: but of this more hereafter.

There are not above three or four manuscripts in the public library of the University, except Thomas Baker's, which relate immediately to that body. Baker's are numerous, and as conspicuous for worth as number, though most are copies, and almost all copied by himself.

Baker left behind him forty-two volumes in all; of

lic; it is from the Registrar's copy—"Ad honorem et gloriam omnipotentis domini nostri Jesu Christi, Salvatoris Mundi, ejusdemq: gloriosissimæ et beatissimæ genetricis Mariæ Virginis, sanctorumq: omnium cœlestium. Ego, Robertus Hare, armiger, hoc opus privilegiorum, libertatum, aliorumq: rescriptorum negotia, almæ & immaculatæ Universitatis Cantabrigiæ concernentium, ex archivis regiis, variisq: registris, antiquis, & monumentis fide dignis, magno labore et sumptu in hunc ordinem per regum seriem collegi, & in tria volumina redegi in favorem & commodum tam modernorum, quam futurorum, venerabilium, cancellarii, magistrorum et scholarium ejusdem celebratissimæ Universitatis. Si quid eis cedat in commodum, sit honor & laus Deo, & mihi peccatori in salutem animæ.—Amen."

these, nineteen were left to the University; to the Earl of Oxford, he left, or as matter of form sold, twenty-three volumes, which are now made public property, and are in the British Museum.

"It seemed," says M. M. "some time since as if the University had intended to have perfected their number, a gentleman having been employed to copy some of these MSS. in the Museum for the public library at Cambridge. These two volumes are now in the public library." This business was undertaken by Mr. Ayscough of the British Museum, but was never completed.

There is one volume of Baker's writing and composition (for this is not a copy) which is entitled to particular and most honourable mention, a copy of it, but incorrectly made, is in St. John's College Library; the original, as written by Baker, is in the British Museum; it is entitled—"A succinct and impartial Account of St. John's House and St. John's College, with some occasional and incidental account of the affairs of the University, and of such Private Colleges as held communication or intercourse with the Old House or College, collected principally by a member of the College, A. 1707. It gives a complete view of St. John's House or Hospital, when a priory of canons regular, proceeding to the foundation of the College, A. 1511, Robert Shipton being first master, and ending with Peter Gunning, twenty-second master, June 25, 1661. It also contains a catalogue of the masters or priors of the Old House or Hospital; a catalogue of the bishops, who went from the College; a catalogue of the fellows, from the foundation of the College to the year 1546, taken from the College Archives; the names of the masters and

the admissions from 1525 to March 1712. It contains further, an account of the old and new libraries; in short, it is, as complete a book, as far as it goes, as can be well conceived, evidently written after much research, and with great judgment, with zeal and attachment to the College, with loyalty to the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, with candour and liberality towards all parties. A man who lays down a maxim in his reflections on learning, 'That we should have more learning if we had fewer books,' and who observes of that work, 'that he has ventured to throw in one into the account, but it is a very small one, and writ with an honest design of lessening the number,' might easily find reasons for suppressing this manuscript as well as all the rest."

The reasons that have prevented some able person from perfecting and publishing this volume since Baker's death are best known to others. Some person, it seems, had in contemplation to publish it, when Dr. Newcome was Master of St. John's, but was forbidden, on account of some peculiarities contained in the work. What those are, this is not the place to inquire.—But here I beg the reader to notice, that the two writers, to whom we are wont to refer as of the greatest authority in matters concerning our University, had embraced certain opinions, not according with those of that learned body; one being, as before observed, a Catholic in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the University was Protestant; the other, a nonjuror, when the University had sworn allegiance to William.—With respect to the worthy Baker, he was many years fellow of St. John's. At the Revolution he was obliged to resign on refusing to take the oath, but continued to reside in College; and there he died, Anno 1740.

In his books, now in the College Library, and MSS. he always styles himself Socius ejectus, ejected fellow; and seems, if I may hazard an opinion, to have been fond of his title, priding himself, probably, rather as being a man of conscience, than learning.

The College have, I understand, got over at last their difficulties; and a gentleman of St. John's was some time since preparing Mr. Baker's history for the press.

Mr. Baker only published a work, entitled, Reflections on Learning; and a Preface to Bishop Fisher's Funeral Sermon, for Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, 1708. But his style and manner, and ample materials shew, that if he had actually written an Athenæ Cantabrigienses it would have far surpassed the Athenæ Oxonienses.

Previously to Mr. Baker's history there was a MS. account in St. John's Library, written by a fellow of that College, but according to Baker, very imperfect and erroneous: and Mr. Ashby, a fellow, who died a few years since, left some additions: these, from Mr. A.'s known acquaintance with the affairs of the College, are, it may be expected, valuable; but I can only say of these two latter works, such things *are*, having barely, through favour of a gentleman of that society, looked into them.

" Mr. Cole, whose MSS. relating to Cambridgeshire and Cambridge should next be mentioned, was born in Cambridgeshire: he combined the zeal of a native, and the learning of an university man, with the patience of an antiquary. He was first of Clare-Hall, and afterwards fellow-commoner of King's College. He resided many years at Milton, near Cambridge, and died in Dec. 16, 1782. *He* was a thorough-paced Tory, and *half* a papist, which

I mention, however, with no insidious meaning—for he might have been a whole papist without the smallest reflection from me—I rather speak after those who were intimate with Mr. Cole, and who respected some of his better qualities: many who read these pages will remember his common appellation, Cardinal Cole.

"These papers, then, of Mr. Cole's, comprising no less than sixty volumes, were almost all written or collected by himself, through the course of nearly half a century before he died. For he had so long, it seems, been making local observations, and procuring materials for a topographical and archæological History of Cambridgeshire.

"Mr. Cole left this prodigious collection to the British Museum; but ordered in his will, that it should be preserved unopened till twenty years after his decease. That time being elapsed, the books were a few years ago opened, and are now become accessible to the public.

"Cole's papers differ somewhat from Baker's: the latter, though they contain a few articles of the writer's own, are principally, as before observed, transcripts of ancient documents: the former, while they abound with collections and copies from public archives, contain likewise a great variety of original compositions. The authors also appear to have differed as much in their taste and character as in the quality of their writings. Baker, though he may be supposed by some to have been a mere plodding copyist, possessed the exploring spirit of the antiquary with the liberality of a gentleman; he had learning, judgment, and good manners. Cole, whatever may have been his literary attainments, (and it is certainly not intended to underrate them), yet could stoop to pick up straws, or even to perpetuate scandal: and with the

perseverance of the antiquary united the minuteness of a parish clerk.

Quin id erat curæ, quo pacto cuncta tenerem,
Utpote res tenues, tenui sermone peractas [a].

"The first volume contains Parochial Antiquities of Cambridgeshire, or an Account of the Churches, with the Funereal Monuments in and about them in the County of Cambridge. Among others, also, an account of the Chapel of our Lady, and St. Nicholas, or King's College, Cambridge.

[a] "The hint relative to Mr. Cole's propensity to scandal is not here made for the first time. A brother of the craft, who published a book at Cambridge, in the year 1781, speaking of these MSS. proceeds thus:—"If according to his whimsical will they should ever be laid before the public; but this, if we may judge from his notes on publications, presented to him by his best friends, they are utterly unfit for; since characters formed from such strong passions and prejudices as he was perpetually actuated by, can never be drawn with any degree of exactness: and the misfortune is, that these, with all the little tales of scandal of the University, town and country, for half a century past, are so blended with his other collections, (however valuable in themselves) they can scarce be separated: so that, probably, from this circumstance alone, the labours of his whole life will be suffered to sink into oblivion, and nothing left to support his memory but that foolish monument of his vanity, ordered by will to be erected over his remains. And the attempt to keep these characters from the public, till the subjects of them be no more, seems to be cruel and ungenerous, since it is precluding them from vindicating themselves from such injurious aspersions, as their friends, perhaps, however willing, may at that distance of time be incapable of removing. The above censure may, perhaps, be thought severe; but the Editor, well acquainted with the fickleness of his disposition for more than forty years, avers it to be well grounded; and thinks it incumbent upon him thus to publish it to the world, to prevent any mischief that may arise hereafter from his unwarrantable prejudices."—This is extracted from Masters's History of Bene't College.

"The second volume contains, in like manner, an account of the Parochial Antiquities of Cambridgeshire, in another direction; including also, an account of Clare Hall, Clare Hall Chapel, (the Old Chapel), Queen's College, and Queen's College Chapel.

"In the course of this survey, Mr. Cole gives a description of each church, and of the monuments, inscriptions, and coats of arms, which they contain, together with draughts of them all, taken by himself on the spot.

"The two next volumes pursue nearly the same course: they embrace, however, as well as the two first, observations on the Parochial Antiquities of other counties.

"The churches, the funereal monuments, the inscriptions, and the escutcheons, in numerous parish churches throughout England, are, in the course of this singular collection, brought into one heap, and, together with the copies from ancient records, and some articles of more trifling consideration, compose an immense body of parochial antiquities."

I must not omit just to notice, that the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes contain an account of the Masters and Fellows of King's College, from the foundation to the year 1746; it is composed of the catalogue of Mr. Hatcher, a fellow of King's College, to 1562; of Mr. Scott's, coroner of the same College, to 1620; and with the assistance of other manuscript accounts, is wrought by Mr. Cole into almost a regular history, in two volumes, of the Society, to the above year, 1746. To the account of King's College and Chapel, and of Clare Hall, I shall have occasion to refer in due time: so I say nothing further now. Mr. Cole observes it was taken from five various MS. historiettes in the college, all of which differed.

The next papers that deserve notice are those of William Richardson, D. D. formerly Master of Emanuel College, and Canon of Lincoln. He was a gentleman warmly attached to Tory principles, and most minute in all matters relating to the Colleges[a]. I had heard much of his preparations for an Athenæ Cantabrigienses[b]. But on inquiry of my friend Dr. Cory, the present worthy master of Emanuel College, the only fragment of Dr. Richardson's I could hear of, consisted of four or five pages of dates, &c. relating principally to the time of the puritans. These, as Dr. Farmer thought them worth copying, I have recopied from Dr. Farmer for insertion in this work. They relate to Emanuel College. There is, however, one work, folio, manuscript, of Dr. Richardson's, a List of all the Graduates, their degrees, and dates from the year 1500 to 1715. This having been purchased by the University, is now in possession of the Registrar. Dr. Richardson's known attention to this work, and his valuable edition of Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ[c], may have given rise to the mistake relative to

[a] He, however, descended from a puritan stock, his grandfather being an eminent puritan minister, first of Queen's College, and afterwards minister of St. Michael's, at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, from which living he was ejected after the Restoration, in 1660. *Calamy's Account*, &c. vol 2, p. 451.

[b] "I have heard," says even Mr. Thomas Baker, in a letter to Mr. Hearne, "of Mr. Richardson's design of *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*." This was as early as 1730, but if ever Dr R. had such an intention, it is probable, when he got possession of the registers, he found he had ample employment to copy and arrange them.

[c] Dr. Richardson, beside Bishop Godwin's book de Præsulibus Angliæ, published also the Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ of his uncle, John Richardson, B. D. and a few Sermons.

Dr. Richardson's manuscripts towards an Athenæ Cantabrigienses. His List of Graduates will always be of great use in University History[a].

I am not aware, that, with the exception of Baker's volumes already mentioned, there are among the English manuscripts, in the public library, above three pieces more, and those but small, immediately relating to the University: these are, *John Scott's Account of the University; Proof of the Jurisdiction of the University;* and *the Practice of the University in inhibiting Preachers.* Two or three Historiettes of Colleges shall be noticed in a more proper place; as also, one or two smaller manuscripts, now missing, though it were only for the purpose of advertisement; it sometimes happening, that by such notices, stragglers, that have been long missing, find their way home.

Having thus considered the principal materials, which lie in manuscript, for a History of our University, let us next examine what has appeared in the form of printed works. And here, it not being agreed what was written by the antiquary of Warwick, Ross, so often quoted by Leland, and as Leland himself, following that doubtful guide[b], promised so much, and performed so little[c], I content myself in beginning with the History of Dr.

[a] Dr. Lyndford Caryl, also, wrote a List of Graduates, and brought it down lower than Dr. R. He was Prebendary of Canterbury, Master of Jesus College, and died at Canterbury, June 18, 1781.

[b] So far as relates to his supposed work, de Antiq. Academiarum Britannicarum. Vid. Wood. de Hist. et Antiq. Univers. Oxon. pars. i p. 77.

[c] Comment. in Cygn. Cant. Leland was an Oxford man, and lived in Harry VIIIth's reign.

Caius[a], the founder, in 1558, of the College at Cambridge, which bears his name.

Caius, then, was a man of undoubted learning, and his histories possess authority, not, however, acquired, nor increased, by his credulity in surreptitious charters, and frivolous disputes about the antiquity of Universities.

He was for beginning his history too soon—in the greater matters of biography he says nothing. He is, however, the first writer of any consequence on the history of our Alma Mater, for as to historiettes, or *black books*, in the archives of the University, to which he appeals, the former are sometimes of dubious, the latter of no authority at all. If his dates are sometimes wrong, as they will be found by comparing them with Hare's and other authentic documents; if he is inaccurate sometimes in the names and successions of the masters, it should be recollected he wrote when there were few registers kept, and those very negligently. Even from the year 1500, Dr. Richardson's book of Graduates shew how extremely defective he found every thing of this kind for many years: an observation similar to this is made as an apology, by Mr. Anthony Wood, who begins his great work, the Athenæ Oxonienses, from about the same time.

Stow, our chronicler, who flourished in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to his "Abridged Summary of the Chronicles of England," has subjoined, 'An Account of the Universities in England,' but too short to be entitled to particular notice.

So the next printed work, is Parker's *Academiæ Historia Cantabrigiensis*. Matthew Parker was Fellow, after-

[a] Entitled, Historiæ Cantabrigiensis Academiæ ab urbe condita, Libri duo, and de Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Libri duo. 1571.

wards Master of Bene't College, Cambridge; at length, A. 1559, Archbishop of Canterbury. He procured from the dissolved monasteries and other places, a collection of manuscripts, and books relating to British antiquities. The former were deposited in a library appropriated to their reception in Bene't College. The History of Cambridge [1] is subjoined to his History of the British Church; both being written in Latin.

The Archbishop informs us, his history was published, that those who search after *truth* might know it with *certainty*. But, at the outset he holds forth a very discouraging, feeble light. For taking up the old story of Cantaber, he is for confirming it from Lydgate, and Beverley and Bede. What a few rhymes from poor Lydgate can do, I see not. But I do see, the only authority that could have served his purpose, fails him most miserably. For though his *doctorum hominum Universitas* appears in the text, and Bede in the margin, not a syllable of those sounding words is found in the venerable Bede.

However, Bishop Parker's History of the Colleges, though quite a summary, possesses authority: and his Indulta Regum, being the titles of some of the principal charters and other public instruments relating to the University, may be taken hold of as a very useful clue to its history, so far at least as it reaches.

Next we have the History and Antiquities of the University of Cambridge, by Mr. Parker, Fellow of Caius College, in 1622. This is printed from the Σκελετος, which is among the MSS. in that library. It follows a good deal in the steps of the Archbishop, but contains nothing

[1] Entitled, Catalogus Cancellariorum, Procancellariorum, Procuratorum, &c. usque ad annum, 1571.

of biography beyond the founders and benefactors: with respect to them it contains much useful information; on other subjects answerably to its name, it is a mere skeleton, distinguished from the preceding accounts, principally by giving at large those surreptitious ancient charters, to which they only allude, which, while not received as authority, are amusing enough to curiosity; but of which more hereafter.

Next in order is Dr. Fuller, one who undoubtedly possessed much of historical and biographical knowledge [a]. He, I suppose, thought that Dr. Caius had trifled enough relative to the Antiquity of the University, and therefore, dismissing the subject with a joke—for no man exceeded him in humour—he is content that the beginning of his history should be at the Conquest: he closes it in 1643. It is not claiming much for Fuller, to say, he is the most agreeable of the Cambridge historians, who in general are so very barren and dull: and he proceeds in chronological order. But on comparing him with my sure guide, Hare, I have sometimes found his dates incorrect; and a gross mistake is pointed out by the MS. historiette, entitled, *Aborigines Jesuanæ*, in Jesus College Library.

Fuller dates the foundation of the nunnery of St. Radegundis, (now Jesus College), in the year 1134, whereas the author of the above historiette fully proves, from the testimony of the best Scotch historians, that Malcolm IV. did not begin his reign till 1154, and that he died in the twenty-fifth year of his age; so that as he could not have been born till the year 1140, all his actions that he performed as king[b] must have been—in which testimonies too

[a] History of the University of Cambridge, 1655.

[b] Hist. University of Cambridge, page 81.

the same writers agree—in the space between 1154 and 1165. Nor does Fuller seem to have been aware that there was a cell for monks here prior to this monastery of nuns.* Fuller, misled by Caius, makes Dr. Capon the first Master of Jesus College, whereas the same MS. historiette shews that he was the fourth, and the three first masters they both omit. It has often been observed of Fuller, that a man may be too great a punster for a sound historian.

In succession to Fuller's History, may be mentioned the Account of the University of Cambridge, and the Colleges there, being a plain relation of many of their oaths, and statutes, and charters. This appears in form of a proposition to both houses of parliament, and is wholly engaged in the point just mentioned. It was printed in 1717. I shall only add, it is to be lamented this account was not seriously attended to. The author, Edmond Miller, Esq. Serjeant at Law, appears to have been of Trinity College—his principal references being made to the statutes of that college—and to have written on serious conviction, and much observation, after having resided in the University many years.

The last History I shall mention is Mr. Carter's History of the University of Cambridge, from its original to the year 1753, &c. together with an *accurate* List of the Chancellors, &c. Pity, that word should have been added; for never was printed a more inaccurate book. To particularize nothing further now, the very first page of this so accurate list is a tissue of inaccuracies; names misplaced, names mis-spelt, names inserted only once, which should have been repeated; three or four names omitted, and every name antedated: this has been observed by Mr. Robert Smyth; in short, as every body knows, this book is

so full of blunders and inaccuracies, as to be altogether unaccountable, without supposing that Mr. Carter was rather the compiler than the author. The historical part is evidently taken almost verbatim from Mr. Parker, as that of the Ejected Loyalists is from Mr. Walker, and without any acknowledgment. I presume, Carter was furnished with most of the materials, of which he did not know the proper use, by others; that his book was brought through the press by some one (not Mr. Carter, I hope), who was scarcely in his sober senses: so that the very persons, from whom the work was derived, would not choose perhaps to own it; no preface being prefixed, and no name of person appearing to whom Carter must have been indebted, except in his list of subscribers[a].

But to do justice, after all, to this strange work, it is the best outline for a History of the University, which we possess: the materials are sadly put together, the superstructure bizarre, and the work altogether *petit* and slight; but the design is good: full of blunders and inaccuracies as it is, the account of eminent men is the only attempt of the kind in any History of the University, if we except the names of founders, benefactors, chancellors, bishops, and masters, and the bare mention of a few names in Dr. Fuller: yet there is no attempt at a general survey of its *learned* men, though unquestionably the principal feature, as we cannot too often repeat, in the history of a learned body.

We must not pass unnoticed, Mr. Loggan's Cantabrigia Illustrata; for, though not a history of the University, it is a splendid, valuable, and useful illustration of all its principal buildings; consisting of copper-plate engravings, the better perhaps for being rather ancient, for it is

[a] Mr. Carter was a schoolmaster in Cambridge.

often necessary to compare the state of modern edifices with their former state: the brief statement of founders and benefactors too is neatly done. Mr. Loggan had executed a similar work, and upon the same scale, for the University of Oxford, before this: most expensive undertakings, in which the author professes to have engaged from pure love of the employment, with his own types, and at his own charges: it may, however, be presumed he was properly remunerated, and met with better fortune than the present Mr. Harrowden, who has given a very beautiful exhibition in water-colours of two of the windows of King's College Chapel.

The perspective of King's College Chapel in these plates is extremely fine, and was, I suppose, the groundwork of Mr. Britton's view of the same chapel, in his second part of the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, in which the plans and picturesque elevations of King's College Chapel are given in a fine style of art.

The last book I shall notice, as referring in general to the University, is the *Collectanea Cantabrigiensia*[a], or collections relating to Cambridge by Francis Blomefield, formerly of Caius College; they are concerning the University, town, and county, and though principally relating to monumental inscriptions they incidentally throw light on old members of the University and College-concerns, being in *general* (for some of his dates I have found inaccurate) of good authority, and, therefore, valuable. It is to be lamented, I think, that in the edition, 1751, the 20 first pages of the edition, printed at Fersfield, in 1742, are cancelled: they notice the very curious and ancient table, of which an account is given in Mr. Bentham's valuable History of Ely; for, Ely being in the county of Cambridge, this table, as an article of

[a] The Edition I mean of 1751.

great antiquity, made no improper part of Blomefield's subject, though it certainly makes no part of mine[a].

So much for our *University* writers. I must add, that Mr. Masters, late Fellow of Bene't College, is the only writer who has published any thing like an attempt at a complete history of a private college, of Cambridge. He justly observes, "It must be no small reproach to learned societies to be deficient herein. They cannot be ignorant of their foundations, without being liable to be censured, nor suffer the memories of their benefactors to perish without betraying a want of due respect and gratitude; whilst yet, I fear, too many have been negligent in making this small return for their benevolence."

The severity of these observations should, however, be tempered with the testimony of a well informed inquirer, confirming an observation that I made a few pages back. "Our registers," says he, "are so imperfect, that, as far as I understand such things, it is hardly possible to give a perfect account of any thing[b]."

"Mr. Masters made his remarks from the laudable desire of exciting others to similar undertakings; and from the same desire they are quoted here. Works of this kind are very useful, and require no extraordinary genius or learning; moderate industry, and common sagacity, the possession of some good feelings, and a free access to the archives of a college, are the great requisites, and to whom

[a] I shall however just add, that Mr. Bentham has given a fine engraving of it, and that it contains the effigies, names and arms of forty soldiers, who came over with William the Conqueror, (so Mr B. thinks), together with as many monks of the monastery of Ely, with whom they lived as guests, but over whom they were in fact guards, to prevent an insurrection A description of it may also be seen in Fuller's Church History, p. 168.

[b] Mr. Baker.

should we look for these, if not to the Fellows of the respective Colleges? Mr. Masters's History, if it displays no great genius, exhibits what is of more value in works of this kind--faithfulness. He had the free use of his college library, registers, and MSS. so that his history is authentic and valuable; as also, in reference to the University, is his Life of Mr. Baker."

And let this suffice, as a short account of the principal manuscripts, and printed works, relating to Cambridge.

"It has been often mentioned," says M. M. "as a matter of surprise and regret, that Cambridge has never produced a work, similar to the Athenæ Oxonienses: and the surprise and regret from the abundance, actually prepared for such a work." This must now further appear from the preceding account. It is indeed evident, there are more ample, regular materials, than Anthony Wood possessed for his; and it must be confessed, his work is rambling, collected (often with difficulty) from accidental communications, and containing after all numerous articles confused, and disjointed, remotely, or not all, connected with Oxford history.

And is the question now asked, What has been attempted here? What are the present author's pretensions? Is it to supply the great desideratum of an Athenæ Cantabrigienses? He replies in one word—No! An Athenæ Cantabrigienses, in its plan correct; in its views extended; in its literature critical; in its principles and execution, generous; might furnish half a score of students full employment for twenty years together; whereas the present work is, unfortunately, circumscribed by limits scarcely ample enough for the history of a single college; and I was obliged to be so.

And yet though my boundary is confined, my design is

liberal. The reader has already been indirectly informed of what has been attempted. So I make no capitulations —by balancing together the advantages and disadvantages of the author for the undertaking, readers will judge how far he has succeeded, and wherein he has failed; in what respects he may be charged with presumption, and in what entitled to candour.

Anthony Wood, had in view certainly a great object, and he took a right aim: he knew that the History of an University should embrace the history of the place, and the history of the men; but as he possessed ample room, and unprescribed time, he judiciously formed his materials into two distinct works, as, his History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, and his Athenæ Oxonienses, are well known to be. To judge from his list of subscribers, his patrons indeed, at the time, were not numerous, but he enjoyed something more auspicious, a hearty love for his employment.

I soon saw that Wood's plan was excellent; but how was it to be followed? If when constrained to comprehend objects numerous and interesting, within the narrow and prescribed limits of two small volumes; if, in endeavouring to combine in one work, what I am convinced should be considered separately; I have faintly succeeded, or entirely failed, I must request the reader not to complain of disappointment, nor allow myself to feel too much mortification; for who can put Homer in a nutshell?

I aim, then, to compromise matters which I cannot alter; I labour to meet difficulties which I cannot remove. And how was this to be done? but by attempting in matters of history and antiquities to be faithful, yet concise; in literary, select, yet accurate; in biographical, cautious, yet impartial; by leaving willingly that to others, in which, as being

of more private concern, or consisting of mere trifling localities, the public are less interested; by shutting out alike university and sectarian prejudices, that the more ample room might be left for the spirit of liberty and universal justice; and by excluding fancy from regions, scarcely spacious enough for the sober exercises, and regular steady pursuits, of truth; by recollecting, after all, that every writer should have principles and a manner of his own, and therefore, by occasionally deviating from a plan, (I mean Mr. Anthony Wood's,) which, in general, I admire.

I have thus stated what is attempted in the following pages.

I have sometimes heard talk of prejudices but a writer superior to party himself, and whose views are purely literary, has no right to meet with prejudices; so I say nothing on that subject: let prejudice yield to inquiry, and dislikes be regulated by execution: but having heard certain difficulties of my situation formed into objections, and having sometimes felt those difficulties myself, I shall briefly make a balance of my disadvantages and advantages, in reference to what I am now engaged in.

I have hinted that a work of any consideration, concerning ancient and learned establishments, might find many men employment for many years: what, then, is the entire production of an individual must partake of his particular imperfections; and his want of room will but render them the more prominent and glaring. This may be deemed a disadvantage.

The not being a Master of Arts in our academia has been represented to me as a disadvantage: true; I have felt it to be so. None below a Master of Arts can, in his own right, have the use of books and MSS. in the public Li-

brary. But it should be known, these books and MSS. are not its public archives: and it has been observed too already that, with the exception of Baker's, the English MSS. in this Library, immediately relating to the University, are not worth mentioning; and to what I have wanted, I have always, through the kindness of friends, found the readiest access.

My not living at Cambridge has been mentioned to me as a disadvantage almost insuperable; and of not residing constantly on the spot, so as not to be always in the way of consulting archives and registers, for some purposes of immediate inquiry, I have certainly, I own, sometimes, felt the inconvenience. But my *frequent* and *long* residence in, or near Cambridge, or occasional visits, which I have been in the habit of paying it, sometimes twice or thrice a year, for more than five-and-twenty years, could, though not wholly, remove the inconvenience, in a great measure over-rule it; and. even by my absence from Cambridge, I found resources which the University could not have supplied.

Among advantages, then, may be reckoned a habit of visiting various public libraries throughout the kingdom—This, for some years, had been my favourite passion—in the indulgence of it there are but few cathedral libraries in England, few at Oxford, and no public library in Scotland, which I have not visited, and relative to the contents of which I have not some useful memoranda; and as I have been in the habit of travelling alone, and with some of my own books, "my idle hours have not been idly spent."

A frequent residence in the metropolis, and near the British Museum, may be accounted another favourable circumstance. In this library, it is well known, are vast sources of information relating to Cambridge, of which,

those disposed to avail themselves, need not, for better information, sigh after alma mater. For the men, the result of whose more important researches are there deposited, were constant residents at Cambridge, correct inquirers, and faithful recorders: and though I have not been a daily digger in these mines, yet, as my occasions required, and my other engagements allowed, I have not neglected my opportunities.

A few other advantages I have possessed. The last two years have been passed principally in my own rooms; for the resources in my own books are not inconsiderable, which, though neither fine nor numerous, are well adapted to my present studies, which cannot be properly pursued but among my own books and papers. To say nothing of other matters, I am not ill-provided with what I deem some of the best books on the laws, constitution, and government of this country, on the history and antiquities of Cambridge, together with no small portion of the literary productions of gentlemen educated at Cambridge. And, as though a kind Providence meant to deliver me at once from the supposed inconvenience of not enjoying the opportunities of daily access to the archives at Cambridge, and of a constant residence there, it has brought even to my chambers the most valuable of its public documents, well-authenticated for information, and therefore peculiarly favourable to the present undertaking. It falls in with my views to give a distinct account of this my source of information.

The principal of my sources, then, are two MS. volumes, in quarto, entitled an Index to Hare's Collections of the Charters and Privileges of the University, from the earliest time, together with a Collection of Statutes, Graces, Decrees of Heads, Interpretations of Statutes, and King's

Letters, from the Year 1570, when Elizabeth's Statutes were first given, to the middle of the last Century, made from the Vice-Chancellors' and Proctors' Books, and from the Grace Books, and other Records of the University, and since revised and corrected with some care; signed and written by F. S. Parris, 1735.

This is the valuable MS. already described[a]; and Dr. Parris, the compiler, has already been spoken of as Vice Chancellor, and as best acquainted of any man in his time with the archives of the University. For this knowledge he was indebted to Hare's Collections[b].

These two volumes I have called an Index, and so they are, in most exact chronological order, containing the heads of every chapter in Hare's Collection; but they contain a vast deal more, viz.: the principal charters at large, of the University, from the time at which they are universally allowed to be authentic. So, that the reader will perceive, I

[a] See page 10.

[b] Dr. Francis Sawyer Parris was principal librarian, and chosen master of Sidney College, in 1746. He left at his decease to the College, a very valuable library, together with £.600; and it is not improbable that these volumes have strayed, as valuable books sometimes do, from their proper course. I purchased them of Mr. Barrington, bookseller in the Strand, who informed me, that he purchased them of a bookseller who had left off business.

I suspect, by the mark C. A. subjoined to a short note on the side of the first page, that these volumes afterwards became the property of Dr. Charles Ashton, master of Jesus College. The hand-writing was immediately recognized by a gentleman of that college, well acquainted with it. It is, however, not probable that these books were among the MSS. bequeathed by Dr. Ashton to Jesus College. Had they been so, they must have appeared in some catalogue of MSS. in the library, and must have been known to have been there by the above gentleman, to whom I shewed Dr. Parris's volumes.

At my decease, probably, I shall give them an opportunity of finding their proper home.

am possessed of some things that might be considered secret, of many that are most valuable, and of all, perhaps, that are worth publicity.

The worth of these volumes is obvious. They are important in themselves; interesting, though it were only from curiosity: but to me, for the purpose of accurate inquiry, they are invaluable; and I have considered them as a balance against many disadvantages, which, in the inquisitiveness and ardour of investigation, I have often seriously experienced, of not being an M. A., and of not being always on the spot to consult archives.

Among my private resources I must now be allowed to reckon my own memoranda, made during my visiting the public libraries in England and Scotland. These are numerous, though discursive, and I often find them of use; and in a work of more scope I should have found them of proportionably greater utility. Accidental occurrences are often replete with the most beneficial information. Conversing with men now no more, (I allude to their writings), and observations made on books during such excursions, in the ardour of inquiry, and novelty of discovery, we are apt to retrace with pleasure. We find, or think we have found, treasures yet unexplored: this too will sometimes unavoidably happen: and no one can be ignorant, though my researches at the time might not have had immediately in view the University of Cambridge, how favourable they might have been to any extended work of bibliographical and biographical inquiry.

Among such resources, too, I must reckon Mr. Robert Smyth's [a] MS. corrections (together with Additions) of Mr.

[a] Mr. Robert Smyth was of St. John's College, took his B. A. degree 1720, his M. A. degree in 1721 He was a most industrious English anti-

Carter's History of Cambridge. I have been much assisted by them; and for the loan of them I am indebted to Mr. John Nichols, senior, the indefatigable historian of Leicestershire, editor, and improver, also, of his most valuable Literary Anecdotes, published not long since.

I must conceive it some advantage to this work, that I had, some years since, written the CANTABRIGIANA, in a periodical publication. This latter abridged me of my accustomed desultoriness both of reading and writing, by subjecting me to a series of reading, to habits of reflection, and a course of writing, concerning Cambridge. They were composed with the greatest attention; and, during their progress through the press, for three years, I was assiduous in my visits both to Cambridge and the British Museum.

The Cantabrigiana are not, as ANAS commonly are

quary, and left many things in manuscript, of which the principal were Large Collections for a History of Sheriffs throughout England. A list of his other writings and collections may be seen in "Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of XVIII Century," vol. v. p. 48, 49. It is there added, and I doubt not with truth, that whatever is more particularly valuable in Carter's History either of the County or University of Cambridge (for he published the histories of both), is to be attributed to Mr Robert Smyth, as, indeed, I conjectured myself, before I read the passage in the Literary Anecdotes.

Mr. Smyth was rector of Spalding, in Lincolnshire, for the History of the Sheriffs of which county, as well as of Cambridgeshire, he had made large collections. He lost his life in pursuit of his favourite pleasure, bathing, Sept. 15, 1761.—Nothing of Mr Smyth's Collections, at least, nothing that I know of, was ever printed, partly, perhaps, on account of the strange hand he wrote, and partly, perhaps, from the narrowness of his circumstances, which did not allow him to encounter the expence of publishing: and, indeed, it is supposed that his History of Sheriffs, with some other of his papers, was destroyed by an ignorant and foolish brother.

considered, merely extracts from one or more writers: the extracts are very few, correctly distinguished, and always acknowledged. The body of the work consists of my own observations on men, books, MSS. with other articles, deemed interesting respecting Cambridge. There exist reasons for my being thus particular and explicit. It was part of the agreement entered into with the editor, that I should make such use of those papers as I deemed proper, in any future publication of my own: I have accordingly made a little use of them in the present history, though but a little; the principal is, the account given of the MSS. of Mr. Baker and Mr. Cole, and of DISSENTIENTS[a]. Other writers, and I speak with confidence and knowledge[b], have made a freer use of them than I have myself[c].

[a] The extracts made are usually marked Cantab. sometimes M. M for Monthly Magazine

[b] The improved edition of the CAMBRIDGE GUIDE was made from the papers of the late Mr. Ashby; and these it has fallen in my way to peruse: in them are numerous references to the Cantabrigiana, for that future use, which is made of them in the last edition of the Cambridge Guide. But I am far from intimating that Mr. Ashby made any other than a modest use of them; his own correct information and immediate resources did not require more. I have, in return, been indebted to that gentleman's papers for some hints relative to Mr. Brown's proposed Improvements in the public Walks of the University, and I have duly acknowledged them. As what appears in magazines is considered usually public property, other writers whom I have not perused may have made as free a use, perhaps freer, than Mr. Ashby.

[c] It is prudent for those who have written much in periodical publications (it has been my fortune to do so) to make, on certain occasions, such declarations; otherwise, they may be supposed to borrow from writers what had been previously borrowed from themselves. No parade is intended by the above declaration, nor any illiberal insinuations against others: but it is inconsistent with honest feelings, and ingenuous intentions, to lie under ungracious suspicions and unjust insinuations.

As to Cambridge itself, among my advantages I must always reckon my personal obligations to gentlemen residing in the University; for I have been indebted to Mr. Pearne, Mr. Smyth, and Mr. Hollingworth, of Peter House, for my access to the archives of that College; to Dr. Turner, Master of Pembroke Hall, for my introduction to Mr Chevalier, Mr. Aspland, and Mr. Wood, to whom I am indebted for similar favours;—and particularly for the perusal of Bishop Wren's MS. de Custodibus Pembrochianis—to Dr. Torkington, Master of Clare Hall, for an opportunity of inspecting the register of the Fellows of that house: to one of the oldest residing members of the University, and than whom no one is better acquainted with the laws and customs of the University, Mr. Tyrwhitt, of Jesus College, I am indebted for a long acquaintance, which has not only led me to the knowledge of many useful books, but facilitated my access to them; to that, as well as the kindness of Dr. Pearce, the Master of that college, I owe an admission into their library, and the freest use of their college-records. By Mr. Woodhouse, and other gentlemen of Caius College, I have, at various times, been obliged for the liberty of consulting manuscripts in their collections. to Mr. Currey, and Mr. Markby, of Bene't, for my access to Archbishop Parker's: to Mr. C. Farish and Mr. Gosebam, for access to Queen's library; and to Dr. Cory, for the use of books and manuscripts in Emmanuel library, (as I had been to Dr. Farmer before) as well as many other civilities, favourable to my designs in the progress of this work.

Thus, as in the common concerns of life, may agreeable and auspicious circumstances, by an opposite and more powerful influence, overrule those which are unpromising and full of discouragement: and methinks I am

reminded of the Lord Cromwell, who, though not of the University of Cambridge, became its chancellor; and "though a scholar of no college, was trusted by the scholars with the charters and statutes of the University, aiming to reform the University, in order to reform the church[a]."—Not that there exists any resemblance in the two cases (nothing can be more dissimilar), for situation, character, or aim, any more than for substance and solidity in gold and straw: it is the colour only of resemblance, a correspondence in disadvantages and improbabilities; and had not some hints been dropped on the untowardness of my circumstances for these college-exercises, though it is pleasant to acknowledge obligations, I should never have paraded about advantages, though it had only been from prudence.

In undertakings of a liberal or useful character, it is flattering to set out with noble encouragement, and animating to look forward to a sure reward. I have had none of these advantages, I confess. Leland, in exploring the antiquities and libraries of this country, was supported and remunerated by Henry VIII. Anderson, when engaged on his Diplomata Scotiæ, was encouraged with no despicable reward by the estates of the Scottish Parliament. Others may have to muse over melancholy affections, ill-fated patronage, and ludicrous rewards; as, where Erasmus complains of (I quote from memory,) rerum angustiæ, oculi tremuli, et immatura senectus; or where Hearne tells us of a curious book of his, of which, though he only printed 120 copies, by subscription, and applied to lords and bishops, he could only obtain 20 subscribers' names; or, where poor Weaver

[a] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 32.

informs us, how, when poring over funeral monuments, in his private, unprotected capacity, he was sometimes in danger of being swept away by the sexton.

But there are cases where the feeling of independence, of uprightness, and of conscientiousness of intention, with a proportionable degree of industry, can do more than the proudest patronage; where obscurity is to be preferred to popularity, and retirement to publicity; and where even poverty might be a better security, and surer earnest, than dangling on the great, and waiting for orders, though to be followed with preferment. Nor are preferments criteria of merit. Independence can move with firmness and composure, or with ardour and celerity, where patronage might debilitate the whole system, and a prospect of preferment might interrupt every generous effort. For my own part, differing as I do from Anthony Wood in principle, I accord with him in spirit. I am pleased to see him turn even his disadvantages to the best account: and I am delighted with that air of self-respect, with which he viewed himself under his weighty occupation.[a]

[a] "This work," says he, "had been more proper for a head or Fellow of a college, or for a public Professor or officer of the most noble University of Oxford to have undertaken and consummated, than the author, who never enjoyed any place or office therein, or can justly say he hath eaten the bread of any founder. Also, that it had been a great deal more fit for one who pretends to be a virtuoso, and to know all men, and all things, that are transacted; or for one who frequents much society in *common rooms, at public fires*, in coffee-houses, assignations, clubs, &c. where the characters of men, and their works, are frequently discussed: but the author, alas! is so far from frequenting such company and topics, that he is as it were dead to the world, and utterly unknown in person to the generality of scholars in Oxon. He is likewise so great an admirer of a solitary and retired life, that he frequents no assemblies of the said University; hath no companion in bed

'Had I proportionably availed myself of my advantages, and even my disadvantages (though in industry I will not yield to many), could I with them have commanded more time, had I not been taken off by numerous interruptions, could I have enjoyed some comfortable snug benefice, I might have produced a much greater, and a better work; greater, at least, in bulk, and better, perhaps, in matter: but I am not complaining; nor am I unthankful to that kind Providence, by which I have not been overlooked or forsaken, and I am persuaded never shall be.

But enough:—what is attempted in the following volumes has been laid before the readers. It is for the public to determine of its execution, and how far it is entitled to their encouragement.

or at board, in his studies, walks, or journeys; nor holds communication with any, unless with some, and those very few, of generous and noble spirits, &c." *Wood's Preface to the Athenæ Oxonienses.*

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

CHAP. I.

OF ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

IT should seem, that in describing a place of literature it is difficult for genuine sons to suppress partial regards. Gratitude is apt to grow overfond, curiosity to become superstitious; and hence men give to antiquity what is due only to truth.

Thus we are told by some, that Cambridge was founded in the year of the world, 4321 [a]; by others in 3588, i. e. 375 years before Christ [b]. Then it was, they say, that

[a] The History, &c. of Cambridge, as printed in Mr. Hearne and Mr. Parker.

[b] Hist. Cantab. Acad. Liber primus, Authore Johanne Caio Anglo, p. 4. So Caius states it, *after Gildas*, yet puts to his account some things never said by Gildas. Nay, the foundation of Cambridge has been placed still higher, at a time in which, says the Assertor Antiq. Oxon, p. 5. nullos adhuc incolas, (nisi forte a gigantibus occupatam contendant) habuisse illam, magno scriptorum consensu constat, viz anno mundi, 1829.

Cambridge was formed into a seat of literature by one Cantaber, a Spaniard, and from him called Cantabrigia. Very early they introduce into it Grecian philosophers, to give it literature: they people it early with Christian doctors: it is soon destroyed, and soon revives; and in purifying it from heresies, and in promoting astronomy, with the other sciences, they lead us on with a tolerable grace to the year of Christ, 529[a].

Then we are surrounded with a train of sacred testimonies and illustrious patrons; by charters from kings Arthur and Cadwallader, and confirmations by Edward, son of Alfred; by bulls and confirmations from popes, Honorius, Sergius, and John: and thus we are brought down to the year of Christ, 915, the date of Edward's charter.

Yet, after all, we are following an ignis fatuus, a light reflected from a history unsubstantiated by authority, and written by a very fabulous writer. For such is the book appealed to, called LIBER NIGER, or the Black Book, in the archives of the University of Cambridge, and such, in the opinion of all writers, was he, to whom this history is ascribed, Nicholas Cantalupe.

Nicholas Cantalupe, to borrow bishop Nicholson's[b] words, "is *reported*, also, to have penned a general Chronicle of England;" but of such little account was he, that by Bellarmine, whose business was to chronicle these chroniclers, he is never once mentioned[c]. But it appears he was prior of a monastery of Carmelite friars, A. D. 1441. I just notice, in passing, that Dr. Fuller[d] mentions an older

[a] Hist. in Lib. Niger.

[b] English Historical Library, p. 56—128.

[c] De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Liber unus, 1663.

[d] History of Cambridge.

book on the Ancient Privileges, by Thomas Markant[a], Fellow of Peter House, and junior Proctor, A. D. 1417. This book disappeared many years ago; and the book of Mr. Buck, of Caius College, Squire Beadle, in the middle of the seventeenth century, (which latter book was probably founded on the former,) has, I understand, in like manner, disappeared within these few years. And "who can stay what will away?" as merry Fuller has it; for Markant's book strayed three times; which Fuller considered as an earnest that it would never return.

As to the Black Book, the little credit due to that depends, not merely on the assertions, or solitary proofs of Oxford antiquaries. They, indeed, have been as violent in opposing its claims, as some Cantabrigians have been rash in its support. Nor can we wonder, that when one Cambridge orator supported the superior antiquity of his University, by a desperate appeal to this book of fables, that an Oxford[b] orator, the assertor of the superior antiquity of his University, should entrench himself, as it were, within this argument. It was a sort of stratagem of war, and a justifiable one. But bishop Nicholson speaks largely, I had almost said ignorantly, when he affirms, "that the Black Book of Cambridge makes as considerable a figure there, as our old Statute Books at Oxford."

This book is, indeed, the ground work of Caius's idle assertion, for its great antiquity, (though even Caius and Codex differ in their dates,) and of the violent controversy between Key and Twine of Oxford, and Caius of Cambridge. It is introduced, also, at large, into Parker's History of the Antiquities of the University of Cambridge, though he decides neither for nor against its authenticity.

[a] I shall speak of him under Bene't College. He is called by others Marchant.

[b] Assertio Antiq. Acad. Oxon. p. 7.

But the opinion of Hare was decided. "This is said," (he is speaking of the Historiola alluded to above,) "to be taken ex nigro codice universitatis, the Black Book of the University: but it seems to be no better than idle fiction, though the preceding charters, 1, 3, 5, (viz. the charters of kings Arthur, Cadwallader, and Edward) are copied from it[a]." Hare, being a Papist, was probably willing to reserve the Pope's bulls, for the honour and glory of Alma Mater. But Baker[b], our honest and learned Cambridge antiquary, considered these bulls, also, as gross forgeries, for the purpose of fresh impositions. Dr. Ashton, too, a learned man, and well acquainted, as already hinted, with Cambridge antiquities, has prefixed to the Index of the first volume of Parris's Index, his testimony against both bulls and charters[c]: and I take Dr. Parris, from what he says of "the most useless part of this book," to have been of the same judgment.

What Carter's opinion of this Black Book was, is clear enough. He says, without the smallest authority, indeed, "that the first original of this famous university is said to be about A. D. 536, when one Cantaber, a Spaniard, was a governor under Arthur, king of the South Britons:" so unaccountably out of order is he, in his chronology, and so at variance, both with Caius and Codex[d].

To crown all, Mr. Robert Smyth, when remarking, that Mr. William Bokenham was the author of the Historiola, adds, "being part, as it is called, of the Black Book of

[a] MS. Hare's Collection, 1st. vol.

[b] MS. Hist. of St. John's Col. in the British Museum.

[c] Hæ Chartæ Antiquæ una cum Bullis omnino videntur esse fictitiæ. Dr. Ashton's note to Dr. Parris's Index to Hare's Collections. 1st vol.

[d] Hist. of Cambridge.

Cambridge. Therein is the story of Cantaber, whose son, Grantanus, is said to have built Cambridge, called from him, at first, Caergrant:" but of this book, and the legends, Leland has said, too justly, "There are in it a hundred things of the same kind. Truly, I never read any thing in it more vain, nor at the same time more foolish and stupid[a]." If, therefore, our Oxonians pay as much, (and no more) "deference," I use bishop Nicholson's words, "to their old Statute Books, as our best informed Cantabs do to the Black Book," it is clear, they pay no deference to them at all.

As to the earliest charters, and the bulls, then, contained in this book, their authority will tell but for little. In tracing the birth of some colleges, I have found, if they have not in their chartularies an original charter of foundation, they have, at least, an *attested copy*, which, as it would be valid in a court of law, so would it authenticate history: but, in the present instance, there are neither originals, nor attested copies of originals; and as black books would be no legal evidence, so can they give no authority to history[b].

As little can be said in favour of Cantaber, no such name is once mentioned, either by Gildas or Bede, who are our earliest writers of British history; nor, of course, by succeeding writers, who tread in their steps, as Spelman, in his British Councils, and Camden in his Britannia. And yet, a Spanish prince, settling in this island, founding a seat of learning, and giving name to a part of the coun-

[a] Smyth's MS. in Carter, and Leland, in his notes to Cantio Cygnea.

[b] That the attested copy, made under Pope Martin, A. 1430, was no *original*, see Caius's own Testimony, De Antiq. Cant. Acad. I. i. p. 62, 63.

try, must have been circumstances of notoriety. Had they been true, must they not have been heard of? Had they been heard of, must they not have been recorded? Is it probable, that neither Cæsar nor Tacitus should have heard of such an occurrence? There was a Roman camp near Cambridge. Tacitus was very curious about the Britons, and prepared to do them justice, as may be fully seen in his Life of Agricola. Indeed, he expressly observed, that some of the Iberi, an eastern people of Spain, passed over to the western part of Britain: and had the northern inhabitants of Spain, the Cantabri, settled in the eastern parts of Britain, is it not as likely he would have mentioned, also, that? I say *the Cantabri*, so the Biscayans were called: for, had there been any foundation for this report, they should rather have been some *Cantabri*, a gentile name, than *one Cantaber*[a], a *proper* name of an individual.

As neither Tacitus, nor Gildas, nor Bede, nor any contemporary writer, mention the circumstance, neither does Richard of Cirencester, in his Account of the Province of Flavia, where Camboritco was, as it occurs, stated by him, in the Fifth Iter of Antonine's Itinerary[b].

But enough of black books and bulls, and dreams of charters. The truth is, many circumstances have combined to disturb the repose of our University records, and public libraries. Ancient writers speak of the Danes as having made a complete desolation of every monument of literature and religion, in these parts. and the Saxons had

[a] Caius calls him, comically enough. (p. 4. Hist. Cant. pars I.) a king's son (homo genere nobilis, Hispaniæ Regis filius); and yet speaks of him as a sort of schoolmaster.

[b] Ricardus Corinensis de Situ Britanniæ, Cap. vi

been here before, and came at first, not as revivers, but destroyers: and whatever honours popery may claim, in subsequent periods, by her new creations, yet, our alterations from popery to protestantism introduced much disorder and confusion. Eighty years after the foundation of duke Humphrey's library, at Oxford, not a single book remained of the old library[a]. Caius, who has preserved the titles of the books left in the two public libraries at Cambridge, in 1574, confesses they had been plundered of a great part; and, though he speaks of privileges, granted by ancient kings, he appeals to none directly, nor could he, to any authentic, higher than Henry III. Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, has given, after Caius, an account of the furious disputes about privileges that had subsisted long before, between the townsmen and scholastics of Cambridge, together with the intire destruction made of the University records, by the former; and such records as the scholastics would have been most willing to preserve, the townsmen would have been most eager to destroy. Some of our most flattering testimonies, therefore, must have been made up of conjectures, traditions, and ancient histories, accessible to every one, or of impostures, and fragments of no account.

I have included ancient histories, because, in questions of this kind, it is no uncommon thing for men to speak of old archives, which, while they do reach to later occurrences, do not to such as are remote. Here they take up with ancient authors; but where are their archives?

The first public instrument, relating to this University, that can be spoken of, as undoubtedly authentic, is the 13th of Henry III. A. C. 1229.

[a] Reliq. Bodleianæ.

Splendid, therefore, as our history might have appeared, if introduced with a Spanish prince, brought into this island by our own king, Gurguntius, and founding a British University, and decorated in front, with the names of kings and popes, I leave these uncertainties for others to shape into what form they please, as also to Oxford historians, to manage their tale of Greek philosophers coming into this country with king Brutus, and instituting an academy at Greekland, near Oxford[a]. For I cannot help observing how pleasantly the Oxford assertor, after convicting the Cambridge orator of having trifled, sets about trifling himself. But enough of these trifles; for stultum est absurdas opiniones accuratius refellere; "It is foolish to aim at too much accuracy in confuting absurdity."

Though I have, then, been using my eyes before I expected light, I pretend to have made no discoveries; for we can lay little stress on any literary occurrences in this ancient town, till the time of Sigebert, which, according to the venerable Bede, was about the year 637. Though even Bede says, only that Sigebert founded, among the East Angles, (in which Cambridge lay,) a school for the instruction of boys[b].

[a] Oxoniensis Historiola ex libro procuratorum. So also, in the Assertio Antiquitatis Oxon. Academiae. "Nam eo tempore loci fuisse non incelebrem philosophorum scholam a Graecis olim philosophis ortam, qui cum Trojanis duce Bruto in hanc insulam appulerunt, cum ex aliis plerisque, tum ex nostra colligitur Historia." A book, probably, of equal authority, and no more, with the Black Book of Cambridge.

[b] This word, *pueri* Alfred translates ȝeonȝe menn, in his Saxon translation of Bede's History; and that the word, puer, as well as infans, means often, in ancient writers, young persons, *minors*, *infants in law*, is certain. See Robinson's History of Baptism, chap. xix of Infant Bap-

All that essentially belongs to the present question lies, I think, within a small compass. All beyond rests on conjecture, or on inference, or on supposititious writings; so the whole passage from the venerable Bede shall be laid before the reader.

"In those times of the kingdom of the East Angles, after Earpwald, the successor of Redual[d], Sigbert (Sigebert,) his brother, was king, a good and religious man, who, while flying from the enmities of Redual[d], he became an exile in Gaul, received the laver of baptism, and returning to his country, where he enjoyed the kingdom, soon desiring to imitate those things which he saw well disposed in the Gauls, instituted a school, in which boys might be instructed in literature; with the assistance of bishop Felix, whom he introduced from Kent, (Cantia,) supplying them with pædagogues and masters, after the manner of the people of Kent[a];" and this is all he says upon the subject.

It is worthy observation, that when the abbot Adrian, and Theodore, afterwards[b] Archbishop of Canterbury, were sent into this island by Pope Vitaleanus, for the purpose of giving religious and literary instruction, no notice is taken of this great University. Both of them, we are

tism: but still I must not omit to notice, that the word, pædagogus, used by Bede, seems to limit the passage to boys, as much as the correspondent Greek word used by Xenophon, in his Cyropædia. But as to Dr Fuller's argument (Church History, p. 76) from St. Paul's calling Christians παιδία, little children, and their instructors, as παιδαγωγὰς ἐν [illegible], instructors in Christ, explaining the *literal meaning* of a word by a metaphorical application, that evidently proves nothing, one way or the other.

[a] Bede, Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 18.

[b] Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1, 2.

told, were well instructed in the Greek and Latin languages. This was in the year 668[a], some years after the foundation of Sigebert's school. They are described as delivering out to their hearers the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, and ecclesiastical discipline, and by way of proof, it is added, that to this very day, there remain some of their scholars, who know the Latin and Greek language full as well as their own, in which they were born. They also taught them the singing or chaunting in the church, which was adopted in Kent, and was thence derived to all the churches of the English. They also instructed them in the Catholic, or monastic life, and ordained over them bishops. Now, not to insist that this school of Sigebert's is not mentioned as being at Cambridge, yet, admitting it was, as being among the East Angles, and one of the twenty-eight British cities mentioned by Bede, yet is it probable that no notice should have been taken of it by those, whose objects were literary, if it had been such a transcendent institution as an University is supposed to be? It was always of the genius of such reformers, and revivers of learning, to single out such institutions, to distinguish them by their eulogies, or to propose some improvements.

A word or two, previously to our proceeding on the name of the place.

Our British and Saxon ancestors used often to derive the names of their principal towns from the rivers on which they were built. Cairgrant was the town (fortified with a castle called, in British, Cair) on the river Granta: and it having been the custom of the Saxons to change the British to corresponding ones in the Saxon, Cairgrant was naturally enough converted into Grantacester; the town

[a] Turner's Hist. of Anglo Sax. Vol. ii. b. 12. c. iv.

fortified with a castle on the river Granta, as it occurs in the Saxon Chronicle; Grenta, in Doomsday Book, is the same word. For, as a Saxon gave in the name, and a Norman wrote it down, the Saxon Granta would sound the Norman Grenta; beside, that the Normans were wont industriously to pervert the Saxon language. These words are used indiscriminately, and sometimes by the same writer. However, the British Caugrant, the Saxon Grantacester, and the Norman Grentacester, were, without doubt, the same town.

But the opinion which respects the name, Cantabrigia, and the modern Cambridge, is not so readily adjusted, some maintaining it is the ancient Caugrant, or Grantacester; others, that as Cambridge and Grantchester, are now, so that they ever were, two distinct places.

Those, who insist, that Grantchester and Cambridge were the same place, say, that the principal part of the town lay, formerly, on the north side of the river, extending northward, towards Girton, through a village called Howse, of which Hows House still retains the name: and to the south, towards Newnham, and to what is now called Grantchester, along which, they maintain, as proofs, that anciently were found monuments of its past celebrity, some of which still remained, and, that as the town gradually extended itself to the south, Newnham and the village now called Grantchester, fell into decay, till, at length, both remain as fragments, broken off from the ancient town. Of this opinion was Dr. Caius[a].

[a] Ad Neunhamæ vicum, ultra molendinam, qui se longius promovebat versus Granticestriam, veteris Cantibrigiæ, seu Granticestriæ reliquias adhuc superstites, et antiquæ urbis nomen referentes. Caii. Anlis Hist. Cant. p 7

Henry of Huntingdon, a writer in King Stephen's reign, expressly says, that Granteceastria was then called Cantebrigia, the name being compounded of Granta, which he calls a river of Cantebrigia[a].

Others, and those Cambridge historians, seem to think that the town now called Grantbridge, or Cambridge, rose out of the small village called Grantchester, and the Oxford antiquaries resolutely maintain, that Grantchester and Cambridge were two different places; that there was a royal palace and tribunal of justice at Grantchester, together with two fortified castles, and houses of scholastics.

However we adjust these matters, still it remains to ask, whence the modern name, Cambridge?

As in matters of uncertainty, we choose to indulge our fancy, I remember once indulging mine upon this subject, conceiving we might refer for the origin of this word to alteration of similar or cognate letters, the abbreviation of syllables, as occurring in ancient manuscripts, and to the similarity of their sounds in ordinary conversation[b], being aware, at the same time, that Cam is still called a winding river, in the Welsh language.

[a] Lib. 1

[b] *The following pages are thrown into notes, to prevent perplexing the text.*—

Indeed, this turn for abbreviating, led men to change, as well as to drop, letters and syllables: thus, Cambodunum, Camelodunum, Campordum, for Almondbury, in Yorkshire; and Lindecollena, Lidecollena, for Lincoln city, &c. By a change not more violent than these, might Cantabrige give Cambridge; and close to Cambridge we have now Granchester for Grarteceaster, Milton for Midleton.

Every one must be aware of the tendency in our language to abbreviations particularly of the names of towns derived from the Saxon: thus, Oxenford, Oxford; Madwaystown, Maidstone; Dorubernia, Dofer,

But whatever we make of poor Cam, Bridge is clearly Saxon (BRIᵹ), and Grantabrige and Cambridge, both

Dover; Cirencester, Ciceter; Cātwarabyrig, Canterbury. See Lambarde's Perambulations of Kent, p. 17. In like manner, Cantabrigia, as we find it in Bede and Gildas, Grantabrigia, as in the Saxon Chronicle, and Grentabrigia, as in Doomsday Book, might shorten itself into Cambridge;—for C and G very commonly interchange, and we still abbreviate, in pronunciation, names which we lengthen in writing: thus, Woster, Worcester; Toster, Towcester; Ciceter, Cirencester.

This turn for abbreviating was expedited in manuscripts, thus: Cātuaria was Canterbury; Ilād, Island; Grātabreg', Cantabreg, Cābridge, for the hyphen supplied the place of n as well as m, and Cābrigia, *Cantabrigia*, might, perhaps, bring out Cambridge. But as I am not aware that others have hit upon this device, I do not insist upon it, but present the other side of the argument, in Camden's words: Quæ nempe Cantabrigia, a Cambridge antiqui Camboriti vel pars vel proles fuit, adeo et situ et nomine est confinis. Nec facile crediderim *Cam* a Grant deflexum, utpote duriuscula videatur hæc deflexio in qua præter unam omnes literæ absorbentur. Existimarim potius vulgus antiqui nominis Camboriti vel Cami fluvii vocabulum retinuisse, licet scriptores Saxonico nomine Granbridge sæpius usi fuerint. Britan. p. 451, ed. 1600.

To carry this matter a little further than Camden: in *bridge*, uniting with the river, the analogy is exactly the same (both in British and Saxon) as in many other towns; for as Caeresk (British) was Exeter exanceeꞅꞇeꝑ (Saxon) Caermedweg (British), a town on the Medway, or Medwaystown (I do not mean Maidstone); so was Caer Grant, a castled town on the Grant: and Cambridge is exactly the same as Tonbridge, the bridge town, or the bridge in the town; and so Beaulbridge, from the small brook called Beaul. And as I here allude to Kent, I am reminded, out of Lambarde, the famous river Medway has taken its name insensibly from crossing the county, and dividing the two bishoprics of Canterbury; for otherwise, he observes, the river itself is properly called Egle, or Eyle, of which both the town of Ailesford, and the castle of Alington (or rather Eylington), do take their name. So Grant, as we have seen, was the British as well as the Saxon name, afterward; and it might insensibly take the name of the Cam, or the Winding River, for the river was much more winding hereabout, before its course was altered.

in that word, follow the analogy of our language. As to Granta, that was unquestionably the name of the ancient

It should not, however, be passed over, that in the 5th Iter of Antonine's Itinerary, we meet, as already observed, with Camborico. This word is more generally translated Cambridge: Camden thought it was Cambridge, as did also Burton.

Burton's manuscript Commentary on Antonine's Itinerary is of the greatest authority. In speaking of Camborito, as Cambridge, Camden had his eye on this commentary: the editions of Seinlerus, Aldus, and Sureta, that is, the best editions, read it Camborico Langplius has it Camboricum: but Burton's manuscript has it Camborico. Camden, and the rest, were evidently mistaken in the letter, t and c being scarcely distinguishable in ancient manuscripts: and Camborico is certainly more to the purpose of those who derive Cambridge from it.

Cam, in the old British, as still in the Welsh, signified a winding river, and Rith, a ford; which the very nature of the place seems to shew, as Burton observes, for it was in the καμπη τȣ ποταμȣ, in the very winding and compass of the river, as Ptolemy speaks of the Euphrates: "so that it was called Grant-cester by the Saxons."

Let it, however, be observed, that the etymological meaning of Granta, as deduced by Camden and Burton, from the Saxon word Gron, a marshy ground, does not correspond to Cam, which, as before hinted, signifies winding. Add to this, after all, it is not clear that the ancient Camborico, in Antonine's Itinerary, is Cambridge. Dr. Fulke, a Cambridge antiquary of some note, makes Camborico, or Camboricum, Comberton, three miles from Cambridge; which, however, on the face of it, cannot be true, for the Roman road did not pass near Comberton. Others, as Dr. Stukely, still maintaining, that Cambridge and Grantchester are different places, call Camborico Grantchester. Burton does not affirm his positive belief that it was Cambridge: Cambridge (says he) esse *puto*, nec *affirmo*. Burton's manuscript Commentary of Antonine's Itinerary is in the Library of Caius College, Cambridge.

But I leave these matters for the learned to decide. For myself, I conclude, with Mr. Lambarde, in his Perambulations of Kent, in a similar case—"If I fail in this derivation, the fault is, for the first part, his, who made the chart of this shire, and then the folly is mine, that follows him."

After so much said on the name of Cambridge, I cannot forbear no-

river; and, to speak freely, I incline to the opinion of Leland, though it is against that of our own antiquary.

> Olim Granta fuit titulis urbs inclyta multis,
> Vicini a fluvii nomine nomen habens:
> Saxones hanc belli deturbavere procellis,
> Sed nova pro veteri non procul inde sita est;
> Quam Fælix monachus Sigeberti jussa secutus,
> Artibus illustrem reddidit atq. scholis.
> Hæc ego perquirens gentis monumenta Britannæ
> Asserui in Laudem, Granta, diserta, tuam.

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tracing an inscription, mentioned by Mr. Blomefield, as being, in his time, in St. Clement's Church, on a stone, with a double circumscription: it was broken in pieces, part lying in the nave, and part in the south isle: ICI : GIST : IOHN : De : HeLVSINGHAM : CLeRK : IADIS MeVRe : De : CAVNBRIDGe, &c. That is, Here lies John of Helysingham, formerly mayor of *Cambridge*. The inscription is Norman French, the date 1329.

CHAP. II.

UNIVERSITY AND TOWN.—DISSENSIONS.

THUS, then, as a sort of starting-place, we shall place Sigebert at the head of our Academia, in the same manner as Oxford has been accustomed to place Alfred, though, as a modern historian of the latter University correctly observes, "the illustrious monarch, who was formerly supposed to have founded or restored it, had really no share whatever in its establishment [a]:" We observe in Leland's lines the word Scholis (schools), not Schola (a school, or academia), as the word reads in Bede. A reasoner, therefore, might ask, on the one hand, what authority can we have for supposing, that in Cairgrant, one of the most celebrated towns in Britain, and the residence of the ancient British kings, there was no school till the time of Sigebert? Cairgrant was even called "the land of scholars;"—and, on the other, what for applying the word *schola* here, to a university, a Studium Generale, by royal charter?

In the former case, might we not begin our schola too late? In the latter, should we not begin our university too soon? The word schola, indeed, does occur both in classical and ancient ecclesiastical writers, in a more enlarged sense; but Bede's words, already referred to, seem to fix on Sigebert's schola one more restricted.

In matters of great antiquity we must often be content with incomplete information. Our great literary esta-

[a] Chalmers' Hist. of the University of Oxford. Pref.

blishments, such as universities, were not of immediate origin: they were the result of gradual advancement and successive improvements. Operum fastigia cernuntur; fundamenta latent: and it often is from small beginnings we rise to great establishments.

The word university was used in a metaphysical and philosophical sense by ancient writers [a], long before it was taken in an ecclesiastical or monastic sense; and by ecclesiastical and monastic bodies, before it was introduced into an academical society: a mother cathedral church, with its officers, and dependent churches; as well as a mother abbey, with its dependent religious houses, was called universitas [b].

Strictly speaking, a university and colleges, as we now use the words, are different bodies, having their distinct laws and members. We might be members of a college, without being members of the university, and vice versa. Alma mater universitas, indeed, receives into her embrace a collection of colleges, as her adopted children, brings them under her regimen, invests them with rights, allows them to share her officers and professors in the various branches of science, and as a public, political body is distinguished by peculiar privileges, its appropriate jurisdiction, and royal charters. This seems to be the modern sense of the word university. As to the word college, that also, as every one knows, is a Latin word, used both by classical and all ancient writers [c], for a collection of men or women, brought under one regimen, of almost any description, and for almost any purpose. We in-

[a] Aristotle Metaph. L. 4. Ὁλότης.

[b] Hence, in ancient writings, the use of Universitates Vestræ.

[c] Ambubaiarum Collegia, pharmacapolæ. Hor.
Συστηματα των παρθενων. Ignat. Epist. ad Philip.

deed retain the word from monastic schools and institutions, and as almost all our buildings, so the very words, and habits, used in our colleges, are of monkish origin: and though we now consider universities as literary institutions, they were formerly considered as ecclesiastical, and they derive all their peculiar language from religious houses.

Without pretending to fix the precise time when this word university was first applied to these learned institutions, and without referring to our fictitious charters, in which this word appears too prominent and glaring, I shall only say, we find it in the records, where our first authentic charters begin, in the reign of Henry III.; and that it occurs in ancient writers much sooner. Who so applied it first is no object in our inquiry; nor, perhaps, would it be easy to ascertain.

As to the beginning then of our university history, as both Leland and Sir Simon D'Ewes seem disposed to set out from Sigebert, we cannot do better than set out from him too. For thus we shall go hand in hand with both Oxford and Cambridge antiquaries; we shall begin with a king as our patron; we shall have clerics as our guides; and what can a Cambridge man wish for more?

It is said, then, that Sigebert, on his return from Gaul, formed a plan, from what he saw there, for his school; and we suppose, it being most probable, that this school was at Cambridge, though this is not asserted by Bede. In addition then to what has already been observed of Sigebert, it may be further said to those prepared to receive him as the founder of our original schola, that Sigebert was raised to the supreme authority over the East Angles among whom Cambridge lay, A. C. 630, and as he succeeded Eardwold he was the sixth king of the East Angles. He only reigned two, or, at most,

three years, when, resigning the ensigns of royalty, he became a monk.

It is mentioned, by the Assertor of the Antiquity of the University of Oxford, from the Archives of University College, though of what date or authority he leaves unnoticed—that Alfred endowed Oxford Academia with no lands, but paid it a certain annual sum of money for a large number of students; and that so it was supported by the Saxon kings, and that the first purchase of lands was made by money left them by Henry III. This is probably *near* the truth, with respect to both these ancient institutions: for Henry gave both of them charters, and in nearly the same terms. In Doomsday Book there is a distinct and minute account of the possessions of land of each person and religious house in Cambridgeshire; and in the Saxon Chronicle, the form of conveying great possessions to the church, in different counties; but the name of neither university appears in these records.

Though our history professes to be only that of the University, yet the town and schools, in these early times, were so similar in their fortunes, that they cannot be well considered apart: and we are furnished with few or no materials for regular academical history. For the town, as being one of the most distinguished in Britain, had been liable, in early times, and in distinct periods, to experience great commotions, and to undergo a variety of changes. Very early, when it became Christian, it felt the effects of the Dioclesian and Maximilian persecutions. Then followed the ravages of the Danes and Saxons: the most entire is said to have been that of Swayn, King of Denmark, about 1010, when terrible devastations were made among the East Angles, in whose

kingdom Gransburgh or Cambridge lay. And in all these reverses of fortune the Monks and Scholastics had their full share.

When William the Conqueror had greatly subjected England, he still met with much resistance in these parts, more particularly from the monks of Ely. He retired for a time to the Castle (Cambridgeshire being then the seat of war), and the Ely monks being subdued, he repaired, or rebuilt it. But we may be sure, that till he had subdued the spirit of the place, he would give no support to its literature.

I say repaired or rebuilt the castle; because Cairgrant being one of the most distinguished towns in Britain, had a castle, as the name imports, and as other British towns so characterized possessed from time immemorial. But William's object being to keep down the monks of Ely, and all the monks in Grentabrige, enlarged and more strongly fortified this castle. There were at the time 387 houses in the town, of which he destroyed 27, in order to take wider compass for his castle.

Cambridge was in the King's hands and rated as in Doomsday Book, till Henry I.'s time, the sheriff answering for the annual profits to his Exchequer: but Henry, at the townsmen's desire, granted it in fee-farm to his Burgesses of Cambridge (though as yet they were not Mayor, Bailiffs, and Aldermen), who held it of him in chief; and who, therefore, paid into his exchequer the same, as the sheriff used to do[a]; and for this Henry I. gave them a charter[b]: he also gave them

[a] See it in Bloomfield's Collectanea, p. 221.

[b] H. MS.

other privileges. King John granted them a merchant's guild,[a] and they became a corporation by charter, which charters were confirmed and enlarged by Henry III. and Edward I.

With respect to Henry I. who was the youngest son of William the Conqueror, and who bestowed so much regard on this town, we presume he had strong predilection for the place, he having, it is said, been educated at Cambridge; and for his literary attainments was entitled Beau-clerc. Dr. Fuller says, that out of gratitude, he endowed it with *several readers of languages.* And to this circumstance Leland's lines allude

> Quid quod Granta novem dicata musis,
> Henrici pietate literati
> Tersis prænitet erudita linguis.

Though Dr. Fuller thinks, that primarily they alluded to Beau-clerc junior, as he calls Henry VIII. But though Henry I. bestowed a charter on the town,[b] there is no mention that he bestowed any on the university; and beside the charter just alluded to, he ordained, by another charter, that no vessel should unlade nor pay toll for its goods any where but in Cambridge. But it was not till 1231, (under Henry III.) that the government of the town took the name of mayor, aldermen, and bailiffs.[c]

In these early times religious houses were very numerous in the town: as to the students in the university,

[a] An. 1201, H. MS.

[b] An. 1381. "For an outrage done to the university the town lost all their charters; and to have them again, consented to pay the crown 100 marks, or £10. per annum for ever." Dr. Parris MS. note on 4th vol of H. MS.

[c] An. Reg. 52. Lit. Patentes, &c. H. M.

they did not live in colleges, as now, but in private houses, as they still do in Germany and Italy. These, at first, were most of them hired of the townsmen, and the rent fixed by censors, or arbitrators, called taxers, taxatores, two of whom were scholars, and two of the town. These houses were called halls, hostles, or inns, hospitia studiosorum: principals were the persons presiding in them; the magistri were the tutors, and all the rest were scholares, scholars or students: the chancellor, who was only pro tempore, and a residing member of the university, was called rector.[a]

These halls and hostles were also numerous, and for reasons hereafter assigned, far more crowded, than our present colleges, with students. The principal houses were those of St. Mary, St. Barnard, St. Thomas, and St. Augustine, assigned to Artists, who studied the liberal arts; and St. Paulinus, St. Nicholas, St. Clement, and Hovens, to Jurists, or students of the civil and canon law. The names, and changes of them all, as they afterwards became appendages to colleges, may be seen in Dr. Caius,[b] and Archbishop Parker.[c]

Several of these houses were, at length, deserted and sunk into decay; others, being purchased in succession by patrons of literature, and obtaining incorporation, with right of mortmain, became permanent rich endowments, of which more in the proper places.

[a] Mr. Baker in his MS. Hist. of St. John's College, observes, that the first time he reads of a chancellor of the university, is in 1246. It does occur then; but it also occurs sixteen years before, 15 Hen. III. H. MS. When it was first given, I know not, perhaps about this time.

[b] Hist. Cant. l. 1, p. 46.

[c] Hist. &c. de Schol. Pub. p. 5, 6.

Though institutions for the purposes of study may require above all others tranquillity, yet Cambridge seems to have been doomed to perpetual disquiets.

In the year 1215, during the contentions between King John and his barons, the latter laid waste a great part of Cambridgeshire, and the town of Cambridge itself. In the following year they took the castle with twenty knights who were lodged there.[a]

In the year 1259 there broke out between the scholars and townsmen violent dissensions, which had been long brooding, and which were frequently repeated.

The same year Henry III. and his nobles were involved in a civil war on account of the king's partiality towards his French subjects, who came in swarms into the country the preceding year, at the time it was oppressed with great scarcity. Henry Hastings, the Earl of Huntingdon, had seized the Isle of Ely; King Henry led an army to Cambridge; and after fortifying it went to London to oppose Gilbert, Earl of Clarence. During his absence Hastings having broke into the town of Cambridge, laid great part of it waste. These commotions, must of course, have much disturbed the quiet of the clerks.

The disputes between the scholars and townsmen manifested themselves in the most outrageous form by the former rescuing one of their own order who had committed murder, though they did not originate in that source.

Other contentions also had much distracted this seat of learning very early, viz. first, between the Bishop of Ely and the clergy, and scholars of the university; se-

[a] Caius de Antiq. Cantab. p. 43.

condly, between the University and the hospitallers, or those, whom we have mentioned as letting houses to scholars: thirdly, between the University and clerks, who were not scholars: fourthly, among the scholars themselves.*

These contentions among the scholars took a most violent turn, by county rivalries, and academical frays; till a south countryman and north countryman, both scholars, having amidst these disputes proceeded from words to blows, all the south countrymen now siding with the disputant of the south country, and the north countrymen with him of the north, the fray soon became general. The chancellor interposed; but academical authority was too weak. He called the townsmen to his aid; but this was throwing oil into the fire; gownsmen fighting with gownsmen, and townsmen intermingling with all: the university and town all was confusion, and gownsmen all up in arms.

Public plunder, burning of records, and every species of horror ensued. The king sent down to Cambridge a delegate to inquire into these disputes, and to have summary justice executed on some delinquents. Sixteen of the townsmen were hanged, others both townsmen and gownsmen fled for asylum to religious houses, or were committed to the town goal. The peace was again restored, though it terminated in many of the scholars retiring to Northampton, and forming themselves into a literary society. This *University*, however, of Northampton lasted only four years. For in the 45th year of his reign, Henry III. empowered certain mas-

* Provision was made against each of these troubles in Henry 3d's reign. H. MS.

ters and scholars to exercise scholastic discipline at Northampton, as at Oxford and Cambridge, and in the 49th he ordered them all to return[a].

Another circumstance, which increased the tumults of the place, was the practice of having tournaments, (hastiludia, avantura, single combats) those fashionable barbarities which characterized the chivalrous ages. They were first contrived by the Gothic and Lombard kings; but introduced into this country by the Saxons or Normans. Richard I. appointed five places for these barbarous military legalities. For when duly licensed, these combats determined causes criminal as well as civil.[b] Cambridge seems to have been one; for these amusements, being performed annually, brought together all the idle fashionable brutes (and they were very numerous) in the county to Cambridge; and there was left behind not only a reckoning of bloodshedding at the time, but of bickerings and tumults, which lasted through the year. Accordingly, Henry III. issued letters patent, which were confirmed in the seventh year of Edward II. that there should be no tournaments within five miles of Cambridge.[c]

But the principal evil under which Cambridge groaned was the swarms of students and monks. The Scotch historian, Major, tells us there were 4, or 5,000 scholars in his time. Caius says there had been twenty hostles, of which seventeen remained in his time. To some of these hostles the monks were accustomed to retire, to study literature: and various other religious houses,

[a] Hare's MS. Index, vol. I.

[b] Sir Robert Cotton's Posthuma, p. 67.

[c] Hare's MS. Index, vol. I. p 12

exclusively for monastic purposes. Many of these were mere swarms of drones, who had nothing to do but read masses, pray for the dead, and invent legends, and dreams, and lies. They were independent too of the townsmen. The monastery of St. Giles was supported by tithes, strained out of twenty-three villages in the county. Add, too, these people had *ecclesiastical liberties*, and were exempted from the civil courts.[a] These people were the great weight, and no doubt the townsmen groaned under the burden. And yet our Cambridge historians, who allude to this circumstance, do not mention it, though indeed it was the principal cause of the tumults of the place, but rather as matter of glory. Better had it been for these times, if, instead of making laws against students settling at Northampton and Stamford, kings had allowed them letters patent for forming academies wherever they pleased.

[a] Rex. Vicecom Cantabrigiensi salutem Quoniam, ut audivimus, plures nominantur Clerici apud Cantabr qui sub nullius magistri scholarium sunt disciplina, et tuitione, sed potius mentiuntur se esse scholares cum non sunt, ut tutius, et fortius, (visâ ad hoc opportunitate) queant malignari, tibi præcipimus, quod assumptis tecum probis et legalibus hominibus de comitatu tuo, accedas ad villam nostram Cantabrigiam, et per totam villam clamari facias ex parte nostrâ, quod nullus clericu moretur in villa, qui non sit sub disciplina, vel intuitione alicujus magistri scholarium Et si aliqui tales fuerent in villâ illâ, eâ exeunt infra quindecim dies, postquam hoc clamatum fuerit. Et si ultra terminum illum inventi fuerint in eâdem villâ, hujusmodi clerici capiantur, et in prisonam nostram mittantur. Teste meipso apud Oxon. 3 Maii, anno regni nostri 15. Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p 10.

Literæ Regiæ, quod vicecomes clamari faciat contra clericos dicentes se esse scholares, 15 Henry III. Hare's MS. Index. It appears these clerks, whether in orders, or only considered as students, were not scholars, members of Hostles.

These evils were still further increased by what Dr Fuller calls, "Pretenders to Scholarship." These, too, were *considered as religious;* but were properly under no scholastic rules: hence they could trespass more covertly, and with less danger. When summoned to appear in the vice-chancellor's court, they pleaded exemption from his authority, as not being *scholars:* on other occasions, they pleaded to the character both of scholars and clerics, to claim *ecclesiastical liberty*, or exemption from the civil power.

This description of men, "clerks-no-clerks," as Fuller calls them, formed so great a feature of the character of the place, that I shall copy into the notes the king's order, directed to the sheriff, for suppressing them[a].

It appears by a letter of Henry, that the disputes between the hospitallers and scholastics related to the impositions, which they put on the scholars, in letting their houses: in consequence of which, as the letter states, the scholars were meditating to leave the place. It was to remedy this, that two *masters* of the university, and two townsmen, *probos* et *legales homines*, had been appointed taxors. Other causes also increased the irritation.

The domineering insolence of the clerks and monks, together with the disturbances between the scholars and townsmen, which had existed in different forms, and in different periods, for a course of years, opened the door for those great privileges, granted to the university from the time of Henry III. for here the current of our academical history begins to run regular and clear. These privileges were obtained under the plea of more ancient

[a] See p. 64.

ones, and, whether founded on forged or genuine charters, and bulls, carried their weight with succeeding potentates; for, as all power has a tendency to spread, these privileges were still further increased under the same plea.

Foremost among the public instruments of Henry III. relating to the university, are, beside those already mentioned, the following—the king's letters to the *sheriff*, authorizing him, at the signification of the *Bishop of Ely*, and the discretion of the *chancellor* and masters, to suppress the insolencies of clerks and scholars, and to imprison or banish them from the university—the king's letters to the *Bishop of Ely*, that clerks, contumacious, and rebellious against the *chancellor*, should be *imprisoned* or *banished* from the town—the king's letters, that the *sheriff* should imprison *clerks*, who were malefactors, at the command of the *chancellor*, in *defect* of the burgesses, and should cause them to be liberated, on the request of the chancellor, and not before—other letters from the king, ordering the sheriff to abstain from *apprehending scholars*, notwithstanding his *former* letters—the king's letters for preserving *the liberties of the university*—the king's brief, to suppress discords, between the university and people of the town—and, that the king's justices should not introduce themselves, to settle offences and disputes between *scholars* and *laics*.

CHAP. III.

CHARTERS, PRIVILEGES, AND VARIOUS REGULATIONS.

AMONG the public instruments, in Henry III.'s reign, was the famous Composition[a] between the scholars and the burgesses, confirmed by royal authority, ordaining, that before the masters resumed their lectures, a certain number of the scholars and the townsmen should be bound by oath to take the names of all the principal houses in the town, and of those who dwelt in them; so that no person should be lodged therein, who could disturb the public peace; and the privileges of the University were all under such provisions as might secure the performance of the said Composition; or, in the last resource, the violators were denounced before the king and his council.

Henry, after these provisions for the public order of the University, did it the honour of a visit, (A. R. 54,) when some other regulations were introduced. Among the archives of the University is a short history of this royal visit.

In Edward I.'s reign, the University obtained a confirmation of its privileges. In this *charter*, the letters of Henry III. (21, 22, 23, and 25.) and the Composition, are recited and confirmed. They, also, had conferred on them some new privileges, among which one was, that no one,

[a] A. D. 1270. Hare's MS. Index. "Compositio inter scholares et burgenses Cantabrigiæ auctoritate regia confirmata.

imprisoned by order of the chancellor, should be liberated by the mayor and bailiffs, under pretext of a king's brief, formerly issued.

There is occasion to say less on the concessions of Edward II. they being, principally, confirmations of former charters and privileges. This prince, however, granted some new privileges, among which, the one entitled, Charta omnium amplissima, (as Hare describes it[a],) with the addition of new privileges, was confirmed by Edward III.

The University had now obtained power to punish regraters and forestallers, and to deliver scholastics and clerks from prison; and all causes in which they were concerned, relating to taxes, letting of houses, hiring of horses, selling provisions and clothes, were cognizable before the vice-chancellor, or his commissary, as in 1 Eliz. all which matters were to take their due course in the chancellor's court, as a court of record.

The assize of bread, wine, and beer, together with fines and punishments relating to them, were exclusively lodged in the University, with the supervision of weights and measures; all which had formerly belonged to the mayor, bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesses: and for these privileges the University were to pay into the exchequer, a yearly tribute of ten pounds; and the mayor, bailiffs, &c. were, in these several particulars, only to assist the chancellor, his vicegerent, or commissary, parere humiliter, et intendere, ut decet.—This charter is introduced with greater formality, than any of the preceding, and was given in full parliament[b].

[a] 10 Edward 2. Hare's MS. Index. 1 Edward 3. *Ibid.*

[b] 5 Richard 2. Hare, vol. i. f. 210.

This charter was given, on account of the mayor and aldermen having been negligent in the discharge of these several duties, which formerly belonged to them; and, accordingly, the king having heard of false weights and measures having been used at Sturbridge fair[a], issued letters patent to the University, informing them, that if they did not perform their duty better, they, also, should lose their privileges, in like manner.

In Edward III.'s reign, letters patent had set aside former king's briefs, in favour of the present power of the vice-chancellor for the imprisoning and punishing of scholars. The mayor and bailiffs of the town were sworn every year, before the vice-chancellor, to keep the peace of the University—while, on the one hand, petitions were presented to the king and council, by the burgesses, against some of the privileges of the University, as being contra jusq. fasq. et contra chartas burgensium, concessas et confirmatas[b]; and, on the other, the University presented petitions to the king in parliament, against the mayor and bailiffs, to have their privileges and liberties enlarged:—but, quibus datum nullum responsum[c].

If I professed to go into minutiæ, I should notice several things that related to the police and discipline of the place, such as paving the town, provisions against public women, &c. But these matters we must pass.

By charter of Richard II. A. Reg. 7. the assize of bread, wine, and beer, in the town, the superintendance of weights, candles, and firing, and the supervision of measures, the butcher and fish market, the regulation of Sturbridge fair, licensing of vintners and brewers, and of determining all fines against offenders, is still further

[a] Properly, *Steresbridge*.

[b] 11 Edward 3. Hare MS. [c] 57 Edward 3. Hare.

confirmed to the vice-chancellor, in short, he, with his officers, was to take cognizance of all personal pleas, and all causes where a clerk or scholar was one of the parties, except in mayheim and felony.

I must not forget to observe, that An. 1318, the University had the honour, if not of receiving a visit, at least, of receiving two bulls, in confirmation of all her privileges, from Pope John XXII. a predecessoribus suis et Angliæ regibus olim concessorum[a]; and these were followed, six years after, with a declaration from the same pope, relating to *some constitutions* of his to be read in the schools, as the other *decretals*[b].

Of the privileges formerly granted, I find no trace in Hare, except those spurious bulls already commented on, and I suspect none are to be found in the archives of the University.

The charters of foundations and deeds of mortmain all bear the regal authority. Had there, indeed, been any old musty bull, founding colleges at Cambridge, doubtless, Mr. Hare, a papist, would have produced them: I therefore, suspect none are in the University, and, perhaps, never were, before this period.

The monasteries and churches in England were, in religious matters, from the time of Augustine, under the authority of the pope. But the kings of England were, in their civil capacities, under no vassalage to

[a] The first of these two bulls may be seen at full length, in Ayliffe's History of Oxford, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 16.

[b] Bulla ejusdem Johannis ad Universitatem transmissa de quibusdam constitutionibus in scholis suis legendis, sicut cæteræ decretales. Hare's MS.

Rome, as the other kings of Europe were [a], and schools and colleges of literature, insignificant as they may be thought, depended, I suspect, on them for their foundations.

It seems, by the archbishop of Canterbury's letter, A 1309, that the University was subject to his visitation [b], and, as the kings of England had the investiture of bishops, and the power of suspending or bestowing church livings, (quia reges Angliæ unguuntur in capite,) so were the archbishops of Canterbury considered, tanquam alterius orbis papæ [c].

I do not deny that there are indulta in the black book: but I suspect there are no such *bulls* relating to the foundation of the University, in the archives; and yet, as we have seen, an university of schools, under a rector and masters, existed long before.

It seems, then, and I am willing to believe it, that alma mater, considered as the fruitful mother of literary-civil societies, was rather an elève of our kings, than of popes. Kings gave the charters of foundation, with deeds of mortmain, and then founders, generally, or some one acting under their authority, gave statutes. And if popes thought themselves entitled to bestow on them any privileges, yet, if those privileges became oppressions, the king, with his parliament, could remove them: and we accordingly, find, in the famous dispute between the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, on the one part, and the four orders of friars mendicant on the other, an order of Edward III. Nostre seignur le roi en parlement, com-

a Sir Robert Cotton's Posthuma, p. 76 Precedency of the Kings of England

b 2 Edward 2. Hare

c Cotton's Posthum.

manding the friars to renounce and suspend the execution of all papal bulls[a]. As to *constitutions* and *decretals*, of which more in another place, if one prince might think it a privilege to have them read, a royal order could also set them aside; and as a matter of authority, they had none, but so far as they were consistent with the law of the land, and in our common law courts, they had no power at all; non currit lex.

But the pope had ecclesiastical authority here, certainly; and, as by that he exempted the University of Oxford from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Oxford lay, so did he the University of Cambridge, from that of the bishop of Ely. The affair was referred to the decision of pope Martin V. who gave it in favour of the University, the spurious bulls of Honorius and Sergius, A. 624, and 699, being produced on the occasion, and the exemption was confirmed by pope Eugene IV.

In the year 1288, as stated in our histories, (and this might have been mentioned before,) Peter House was founded; and as my limits do not admit of a regular history of the University, when I come to treat of particular colleges, I shall speak of several things that properly belong to this place. I must content myself, as I have all along, with being very general now.

[a] Et auss voet le roi, que l'execution de touz les impetracions des bulles & proces, faitz ou pursuite, ou affaire ou pursuer en temps avenir en le court de Rome, et aillours par les freres des ditz ordres, ou nul persone singulere de ycelles en general ou especial, countre la dite Universitie, ou ascune persone d'ycelle, puis la fesance du dit estatut, cesse de tout, et soit mys a neant. Parl 40. Edward 3. 9, 10, 11. This remarkable order may be seen, too, at large, in the Appendix to Ayliffe's History of Oxford, p. 22. It is in Norman French.

In the first year of his reign, Henry gave them *a most ample charter*, reciting and confirming the principal charters of Edward II. and letters patent of Edward III.

In the year 1401, the second of Henry IV. the archbishop of Canterbury, as the alterius orbis papa, though with power from the crown, made an official visitation of the University, and, by commission, to the distinct colleges; inquiring, whether the statutes of the University had been observed, and the college chests carefully kept; whether the scholars were obedient to the chancellor, and peace preserved in the University; and as an important branch of his authority, whether there were any suspected of holding Wickliffe's opinion, or any other *heretical pravity;* ordering, that no book of Wickliffe's should be read or taught, that was not first approved, by either of the Universities [a]. But provision was made, that the visitation of the archbishop being an appeal, the jurisdiction of the University should be preserved.

Archbishop Arundel was this visitor; but he acted under the king, not the pope: so, at least, I apprehend, and for the following reasons.

A University, as judge Blackstone correctly observes, is a civil, not an ecclesiastical corporation. And several years before this period, we find an English king, in his Prohibition, *relating to archbishops* &c. *visiting colleges,* several years before, at Oxford, speaks of those opposing that visitation, as opposing *his right and crown,* (sunt nonnulli nitentes *jus nostrum regium* enervare, et *coronam nostram* in hac parte enervare, &c.[b]); and we

[a] Anno 1408. Hare's Collections.

[b] Pat. 17. Ric. II. The Prohibitio Regis, &c. may be seen at length in Ayliffe's History of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 24.

find, that, though Arundel, who exercised this office of general visitor, was an ecclesiastic, the next, lord Cromwell, under Henry VIII. was a layman[a].

I must not forget to observe, under this reign, that Henry gave them a MOST AMPLE CHARTER, viz. one, which confirmed former privileges, and recited the principal charters and letters patent of Edward III. nor that famous, rather infamous act, passed in this king's reign[b], de Heretico Comburendo, it being connected with this power of the archbishop, to punish religious opinions.

[a] It is not meant to say, either here, or elsewhere, that the pope did not claim power to grant privileges to monks, and to the schools, in their monasteries and that some of the Saxon and Danish kings did not so humble themselves as to receive powers from him, in respect of schools, abbies, and churches Thus our Danish king, Canute, obtained power of the pope, and paid him for it, to found a *free* school, that is, one endowed with ecclesiastical privileges (*Chronicon Joannis Abbatis sancti* de Burgo and, on another occasion, we find our royal saint and monk, Edward the Confessor, obtaining *authority* from pope Nicholas II in these memorable words: Vobis verò, et posteris vestris *regibus* committimus advocationem et tuitionem ejusdem loci et omnium totius Angliæ ecclesiarum, et vice nostra, cum concilio episcopi, ut abbat constituatis ubiq quæ justa sunt But, whatever superstitious princes might concede, or popes grant, our English kings laid claims, in their own right, to such power in ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman emperors possessed before the fall of the empire, by dividing bishoprics, granting investitures, and making laws, both ecclesiastical and civil Laws were made against papal encroachments, in Edward I and Edward III and Richard II's reigns, with respect to investitures, and the pope's bulls had no legal authority without the king's licence The pope, however, would be still, often presuming on his authority But the matter was brought to issue, in Henry VIII's reign, in favour of the ancient rights of the kings of England, in the important cases of investiture, appeals, legates, and other articles of the papal usurpation, as clearly stated in *Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation*

[b] Rymer's Fœdera

In the ninth year of Henry V. the University obtained two remarkable privileges: one was, a *statute* of the kingdom, that no one should practice the art of medicine but those admitted in the Universities, and approved by them; offenders were to be punished at the discretion of the privy council. and the College of Physicians in London sympathizes with this principle so far, still, that though they authorise others to practice medicine, as licentiates, they admit none to be fellows of their college, but graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. The other privilege was obtained by a mandate of the archbishop, with the consent of his brethren, and prelates of his province, that patrons should bestow ecclesiastical benefices only on graduates and students of the University[a].

I might enumerate disturbances under Hen. VI. For, as in former reigns, there were commotions between the townsmen and gownsmen, so were violent disturbances excited in this, by some Irish members of the University. In consequence of these, the communitas Angliæ presented a petition to parliament, and by a statute of the realm, it was ordained, that Irish scholars should not reside in either University, but as subject to certain regulations[b].

In this king's reign (A. D. 1430 and 1431,) the University obtained those two most important public instruments, entitled, PROCESSUS BERNWELLENSIS, and Bulla Papæ Eugenii IV, by which the jurisdiction of the

[a] Hare's Collections.

[b] Statutum Regni de Hibernis ob impia scelera sua ex Anglia ejicien-dis, et quod scholaribus Hibernicis in utraq. academia adhuc morari liceat sub certis conditionibus. 1 Henry VI. Hare's Index, vol. 1. The petition expresses it, impia flagitia Hibernorum, Scotorum, Wallorum, tam in villa et comitatu Cantab. quam alibi perpetrata.

Chancellor was confirmed, and an exemption from all others fully settled.

Several matters, relating to particular colleges, are purposely left out, until I come to treat of those colleges: but, as the famous Composition between the University and King's College, relates to both, it shall be mentioned here. This Composition, then, settled the manner, form, and extent of the jurisdiction to be exercised by the provost of King's, towards his scholars, and by the chancellor, towards the same provost and scholars.

The COMPOSITION was approved by the king, A. D. 1456. "It is agreed, by this, that the provost of King's shall have the probate of wills, and cognizance of causes within his college, even though the plaintiff be a scholar of the University, but not if the defendant be so."

The last public instrument, relating to the University, in this reign, is, letters patent, that the chancellor should have power to correct nuisances in the University, and to banish loose women to within four miles of Cambridge. These were recited and confirmed in the first year of Edward VI.'s reign.

There is not much, during the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III., or *crook-backed Richard*, in our University annals, except, indeed, what will more properly belong to the history of private colleges: for what concerns the foundation of particular colleges is of that place. It must suffice to observe now, that, notwithstanding archbishop Arundel's *constitution*, in Henry IV.'s reign, and the king's commission in Henry V.'s, Lollardism continued to spread: for, though bishop Grosthead, doctor Wickliffe, and archbishop Bradwardain, its at advocates, had all been of Oxford, the credit of their names passed to Cambridge. But popery still had the

sanction of public authority, and if the prayers of the faithful had prevailed, would have preserved it still: but the prayers of the faithful might have been better directed, than in favour of one, who was as deformed in mind as body[a], one guilty of murder and every species of vice. The only public instrument mentioned by Hare, in his Collections, during Richard III.'s reign, is a "Decree of the University, on the manner of celebrating and praying for the happy state of the most *pious* king, while he lived, and for his soul after his death[b]."

Memorable is the literary history of the University, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the epoch of the invention of printing. The first University printer's name, if I mistake not, was Sebert, but it is not easy to ascertain the first book printed there[c]; the University, for some time, printing their books in London, where Caxton had a printing press, and began to print books in 1474. The Clarendon press of Oxford has, of late years, unquestionably surpassed Cambridge, in the number and grandeur of its printed books. But lord Coke has observed, "that Cambridge enjoyed, before

[a] Hume

[b] Decretum Universitatis de modo celebrandi et orandi pro felici statu piissimi regis, dum vixerit, et pro anima ejus post mortem A. D. 1483.

[c] It is not easy to ascertain the exact year of the earliest printed book, the first experiments having been made on immoveable blocks, and the books, like our most ancient MSS having no dates The first printed book was, probably, the Bible. The oldest known with a date is the Codex Psalmorum, 1457, which is in the emperor's library at Vienna; the next, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Mentz, 1459. The Catholicon the next, printed on wood first, and with moveable types, 1460. Tully's Offices, printed in 1465, is in the Cambridge public, and in Emmanuel College libraries

Oxford, the privilege of printing omnes et omnigenos libros; all and every kind of books[a]."

Thus it is, that bodies gradually take their peculiar forms, and rise to great account; for the University, through the charters and privileges above stated, rose, at length, to be a court of record, with commissaries, surrogates, proctors, and other officers, as it now appears, with exemptions from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Ely, which, as a literary civil institution, it ought to possess, but with a jurisdiction of its own, inconsistent often with the municipal powers of the town, a sort of imperium in imperio, res dissociabiles miscuit, *principatum et libertatem*[b].

I have not thought it necessary give a minute detail of those contentions, between University and the town, that led to many of them but I cannot forbear noticing their secret causes.

Public instruments, and partial histories of Cambridge, ascribe these dissentions to the neglect, and insolencies, and impositions of the townsmen; and there might, no doubt, be frequent examples of impositions on the side of the townsmen; but the great evil lay on the other side: and impartiality must ascribe them to the circumstances of the times, and the condition of the different inhabitants of the place.

The religious houses swarmed with monks, who mistook dreaming for piety, sloth for wisdom, and insolence for authority[c]. The hostels were also overcrowded with

[a] Caii Hist. Cantab. Acad. lib. ii. p. 127.

[b] Ta

[c] As late as the time of John Major, the Scottish historian, if his account be correct, as it most probably is, the number of students in the

scholars, who, making learning a plea for power, assumed to themselves the pert, pragmatical airs of a privileged order.

They of necessity must have been a burthen to the inhabitants, like locusts devouring the land. Several hostels at Cambridge were full of monks; for the novitiates of different monasteries in Britain were sent to study in our Universities, before they assumed the habit of their order; while the chantry-priests, who were in many of the Cambridge churches, and its neighbourhood, increased the stock. There were no less than thirty hostels, and six religious houses in this place. Would it not have been wise in the University, instead of procuring letters patent against their scholars settling at Northampton and Stamford, where, on account of disturbances at Cambridge, these were disposed to settle, they had procured for them permission to continue to reside there still? They would have proceeded with more wisdom, and have provided, so far, with more certainty, for the relief, both of the University and of the town.

But this spirit of tumult was assisted by the taste of those times for justs and tournaments, those avantura, barbarous military sports, which sometimes originated in private malice, or settled into domestic feuds; and to say the least that can be said against them, they brought together a great assemblage of people, to the great disturbance of the public peace, as may be seen in the celebrated old ballad, entitled the "Tournament of Tottenham." These hastiludia, or aventura, became very common at Cambridge.

University was between 4 and 5,000. Major resided at Cambridge some time, and attended the lectures in Christ's College, as he tells us in his History de Gestis Scotorum.

Besides, we have seen the clercs-non-clercs giving the University much trouble; and the scholars sometimes quarrelling among themselves, urging, at the same time, the townsmen to take part in their quarrels; and even the higher powers themselves, at variance about privileges. Let all the circumstances be taken in to settle the account, and each party take its proper share of blame. However, we wish alma joy, in the possession of all her privileges that are truly good, and that she may make a liberal, humane use of her power.

The principal occurrences in Henry VII.'s reign may be comprized under letters patent, confirming the letters of Henry VI., concerning, banishing disorderly women from the University, and other obnoxious matters. A licence to lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, and mother of Henry VII. for a perpetual lectureship on theology. A bond for five hundred marks, given by the town to the University, to abide by the award of certain arbitrators, agreed on by both parties, to admit several contested privileges. The award made between the University and town of Cambridge, by arbitrators, in the presence of the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, touching their privileges, on both parts. The indenture of composition on the same subjects, by both parties, after the award made by the arbitrators [a]. The founda-

[a] This award was made anno 1502, by John Fisher, justice of the common pleas, Humphry Conningesby, and Thomas Frowycke, serjeants at law, chosen by consent of parties, for that purpose, at the instance of lady Margaret. It is made in conformity to the ancient privileges of the University, and, of course, strongly inclines to its favour. So far as relates to the University it relates to all *privileged* persons, that is, members, or students of the University, with their menial servants, *dwelling* and *retained* with *any scholar in wages*, as well as bedels of the University, and manciples, cooks, &c. apothecaries, stationers, &c. in the service of the University

tion of the lady Margaret, concerning one public lecturer in sacred theology, with the statutes on the foundation. The agreement of the abbot of Westminster (or abbot of Barnwell) to paying the stipend for the said lecture. A licence for instituting one chantry for one preacher, in the University. A grant of the University of ten pounds, for suffrages (commendations or prayers) to be yearly sung for the king, queen, &c., for ever. An edict of the University, against the disturbers of its peace: by this, a non-graduate, worth five pounds per annum, was not to carry arms, by night or day, or disturb the peace of the University, under a penalty of twenty shillings [a].

[a] The decision of all future contests for privileges, was, by this award, to be determined by the lady Margaret, or by such persons as she should appoint, and on her decease, by the chancellor and treasurer of England, and the chief justice of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, for the time being, or any three, or two, of them. And, by the same award it was settled, that all future disputes, between the town and University, was to be decided in the same way. The whole of this long award is in *Hare's Collections.*

CHAP. IV.

TRANSACTIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY, DURING HENRY VIII. EDWARD VI. AND MARY'S REIGNS.

HENRY VIII.'s reign is a remarkable epoch in the annals of the University, as well as in the general history of the country: for, though there were not so many public instruments, relative to the University, as in some other reigns, (lord Cromwell, the public visitor, having settled many matters by his visitatorial authority,) those given were of the greatest account. They related to the establishing of Sir Robert Read's foundation of three public lectures on humanity, logic, and philosophy, commonly called Barnaby's Lectures, to be read in the schools in term time.—Articles of complaint, against the University, exhibited by the town of Cambridge.—The University's answer, with a declaration made on it, by the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Norfolk (1534), their jurisdiction having been settled by the Lady Margaret.—The king's letters patent, that the chancellor, or his vicegerent, with three doctors, shall have lawful authority to choose three stationers, or printers of books[a].

Memorable also was the act, 27th Henry VIII. by which the lands of the two Universities, and of the colleges of Eaton and Winchester were discharged from

[a] Et eorum quilibet omnimodos libros ibidem vendere, &c. 26 Hen. VIII. Hare's Collections, vol. iii. p. 70.

payment of first fruits and tenths, for ever, and the act 35th Henry VIII. for paving the town of Cambridge. This appointed a paving leet, to be held every Easter and Michaelmas, by the vice-chancellor and mayor.

But the most memorable and important of all were; the royal injunctions, transmitted through lord Cromwell (appointed general visitor by Henry VIII.), in which, among other things, members are forbidden to graduate in canon law; and sundry articles, conformable to them, were delivered by Dr. Leigh, surrogate to lord Cromwell. Copies of these important instruments may be seen in Dr. Fuller[a]. Among other things, every college is ordered to send in all its grants, charters, statutes, and bulls, with a rental of its estates, and inventory of its goods. After due inquiries, by royal authority, into the public and private business of the University, the charters were returned; but, the intention being entirely to suppress the pope's authority, it is doubted whether the bulls were ever restored, and it is most reasonable to suppose they never were. This was in the 27th year of Henry VIII.[b] About the same time, archbishop Cranmer was employed in visiting the monasteries.

Lord Cromwell was the greatest theological politician of his age: raised from humble life to be made secretary to cardinal Wolsey, he became, at length, master of the jewel house, secretary of state, baron, vicar-general, master of the rolls, knight of the garter, keeper of the privy seal, lord high chamberlain, and earl of Essex. His employment at Cambridge is thus described, by a shrewd writer:—"His conscience inclined him to the church's

[a] History of Cambridge, p. 109, 110, &c.

[b] Hare's MS. Index.

reformation, his interest complied with the king's: he unlocked the secrets of monasteries by his spies, and put the king upon destroying them by his power. The University of Cambridge made him chancellor to save itself, where, though he did no great good, yet his greatness kept others from doing harm, in an age wherein covetousness could quarrel a college, as well as an abbey, into superstition. He was trusted by the king with the rolls and records of England; and by the scholars, with the charters and statutes of the University. He reforms the University, in order to the reformation of the church; enjoining the study of the scriptures and tongues, instead of school divinity and barbarism; recommending Aristotle, Agricola, Melanchton, to their reading; and the doctrine, which is in spirit and truth, to their faith; and razing the pope's bulls, to make way for the king's favours[a].

Though Henry VIII. is of great account in our University, and college histories, he made some of its most learned members disgrace themselves; and some, the most distinguished, he destroyed, whether catholic, or protestant, as suited his lust; and is justly characterized, as a king with a pope in his belly[b].

In Edward VI.'s reign we have letters patent, in which are recited and confirmed, various letters patent of Edward IV. Henry VI. Richard II. and Henry VII. Edward also, or rather his commissioners, gave statutes to the University, April 8, 1549; and July 2, 1549, injunc-

[a] Lloyd's Statesmen and Favourites of England, p. 34.

[b] See the first part of Burnet's History of the Reformation; Lloyd's State Worthies; articles, Cranmer, and Sir Thomas More, and the account of Bishop Fisher, among Mr. Baker's MSS. in the *British Museum*.

tions were established, by his visitors having an unlimited power of reforming both persons and things, as to them seemed expedient. There were also introduced certain ordinances "de tollendis dubitationibus ex statutis ejusdem oitis:" the visitors having previously given solutions of certain doubts that had been formerly proposed to them.

In this reign, the disputes between the gownsmen and townsmen broke out again, but were settled in reference to ancient privileges: an extraordinary act was kept in the schools of the University, before the Commissioners, on Transubstantiation: the papists were discountenanced: Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was deprived of the Chancellorship and Mastership of Trinity Hall, and sent to the Tower.

When Mary ascended the throne in 1553, Gardiner was recalled to his former honours, as bishop of Winchester and chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Those Papists, who resided abroad in Edward's reign, were called home, and had conferred on them the first offices in church and state. The *fire* of persecution, however, was not kindled at Cambridge, though some, who had been its most distinguished members, suffered elsewhere, and eleven Protestant Masters of Colleges were ejected, to make room for Roman Catholics.

One of the most eminent characters of this reign[a] was Cardinal Pole, an English prelate, a very amiable and

[a] It is remarkable that Cardinal Pole's works were not published till nearly two centuries after his death. They were at length edited by C. Angelo Maria Quirini, Bishop of Brescia, at his own press, in four large volumes. Since Quirini's death, a fifth volume was added. See Beccatelli's Life of Cardinal Pole, with Notes, by his Translator, Benj. Pye, L.L.B. p. 167.

learned man, who had resided abroad for twenty years. Being called back to England by Mary, he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been educated at Oxford, but, in succession to Gardiner, he was now made Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in 1555, and appeared there as Visitor in 1556.

With the exception of removals, and such changes as were connected with the change of religion, I am not aware that any material alterations were made in the privileges of the University. The draught of a plan for revising or altering the statutes of Trinity College certainly never passed the seal, and were never signed by Mary, but was finally settled by Queen Elizabeth.[a]

On the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England, to espouse Queen Mary, he was addressed by the University, in a handsome letter, to which Philip returned a most gracious answer[b], and, in expressing respect for the honours of the University, he could not fail mentioning its antiquity, and descent from a Spanish prince: this answer, by some, has been thrust into the arguments in favour of the University's foundation by Cantaber.

[a] See the Preface to a Sermon preached in Trinity College Chapel, by the Rev. Mr. Garnham, one of the Fellows, 1794.

[b] Hare's Collections, vol. iii. A. 1554.

CHAP. V.

QUEEN ELIZABETH — CHARTER — UNIVERSITY STATUTES — QUEEN'S VISIT.

BUT the most remarkable, according to some the most glorious, and certainly to us the most interesting periods, in our University history, are the reigns of the Virgin Queen and James I.

Elizabeth was a learned princess, and had a predilection for Cambridge. Her early tutor, Roger Ascham, was of this University; and thence she chose, with no little discrimination, some of her most eminent ministers. In the public library of the University are some good specimens of her majesty's classical abilities, Latin Epistles on different subjects, and a Translation of Xenophon's Dialogue, entitled Hiero, from the Greek[a].

A new state-religion now over-shadowing the old, state-policy required that our universities should follow the order of the change; and, accordingly, since eleven Protestant Masters of colleges were obliged to give way to as many popish, of Queen Mary's reign, an exact

[a] A paper book, in 4to. "A Dialogue of the Royall and Privat Lyffe between King Hiero, sometymes a privat Man, and Simonides." This Translation (says the author of the last catalogue of MSS. Mr. Nasmyth) is ascribed, in the former catalogue, to Queen Elizabeth, and rightly, though her name does not appear in the MS. See, further, Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

Among the Bodleian MSS. at Oxford, is a Latin Exercise Book of Elizabeth's, when she was very young.

proportion of ejectments, and a similar rule in supplying the vacancies, took place in Elizabeth's[a]. This was a most significant memento to the Catholic party: The change was conducted by Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, the new Chancellor, with other commissioners, who, with all the formalities of royal authority, made a visitation of Cambridge, in the beginning of this reign.

In the third year of her reign Elizabeth gave her famous charter, which with all the charters from Henry III. downwards, were ratified by the Act of Parliament[b] for incorporating the two universities, the *Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, being left to enjoy such liberties, freedoms, and immmunities,* AS BEFORE THE MAKING THIS ACT.

The charter may be perused at length in Hare's Collections. It contains the recital and confirmation of Henry III. and Edward II.'s charters, with some new privileges. The most prominent points in it are—that the Vice-chancellor's court is made A COURT OF RECORD, from which there is no appeal; with power in all causes before-mentioned, of determining actions as well ex officio, as at the suit of a party: That the justices of the courts of King's Bench and others should, without difficulty or impediment, give allowance (allocationem faciant) to all their pleas; and that no judge or magistrate should interfere in their pleas, or call any of their parties to answer before them.—The charter runs thus: *Coram seipsis* habeant cognitionem omnium et omnimodorum Placitorum, personalium, &c. quam Transgressionum contra Pacem, &c. infra *Villam prædictam,*

[a] Fuller's Hist. of Camb. pp. 134, 135.
[b] 13 Eliz. cap. 29.

&c. Malemio et Feloniâ exceptis (Hare's Collect. Vol. iii. f. 122) ubi, et quandocunq. aliquis magister, vel scholaris, vel serviens scholaris, aut communis minister Universitatis unus Partium fuerit.— That the University are forgiven all former non-use or abuse of their privileges; that all members and scholars, their officers and servants, are exempt from all musters of the militia; that their horses shall not be liable to be taken for the king's use; that the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University, are made Clerks of the Market, in Cambridge, and the suburbs, and the fairs at Barnwell and Sturbridge; with power of inquiring after and punishing, forestallers, &c. That they shall have authority to inquire after, and punish (as before), loose women, &c. That the University shall have power, under the seal of the University, of appointing twelve preachers, to preach through the whole kingdom of England and Ireland, without any licences from the ordinaries of the places. That Graduates and Scholars, together with their officers and servants, should be liable to no subsidies, reliefs, taxes, or contributions, of any kind, except the yearly tax to the crown of ten pounds, for the assize of bread and other victuals; and that the suburbs of Cambridge should extend one mile all round the town.

The most remarkable part of this charter is that which empowers the Chancellor, or Vice-chancellor, by his Steward (Seneschallus), to claim a *privileged person* indicted before any judge, and imprisoned, for any *treason or felony*, done within Cambridge, or the suburbs, and under certain regulations, according to which the person is to be tried by one half who are privileged

persons, and one half who are not, to proceed against him at the Tolboothe, according to the common law, and *the customs of the University*[a].

So much, in general, for Queen Elizabeth's famous charter: no less famous are her statutes. They are the rule for the present discipline of the University, literary as well as official.

These statutes are too vast a subject to discuss properly here; and, in a manner, I am forced to keep my distance; for, though my relation to this learned institution is but humble, my affection to it is proud; and as strong affections are apt to call forth strong language, without dealing in invective, I might be tempted to some freedom of remark; to imitate the conduct of a person, who, in one of the Charles's reigns, styled himself "a member out of parliament;" and who, not having the power of speaking in his proper place, used the greater liberty of speech in his writings[b].

But there is one general observation to be made here, not undeserving the consideration of gentlemen in both universities; that though Elizabeth's charter, and all the charters from Henry III. were confirmed in Parliament, by the Act for Incorporating both the Universities (13 Eliz. 29), as already observed, yet her statutes, though under her broad seal, never were: an observation which applies also to the Literæ Regiæ (Royal Letters of James I.)

[a] Mr. Serjeant Miller asks, with great propriety, (Account of the University, &c. of Cambridge, p. 91,) how this agrees with the article in a former award: "That if any scholar do any felony or murder, he is to be punished according to the common law:" according to the *customs of the University*, felony and maheim had always been excepted.

[b] Rushworth's Historical Collections.

In all questions on academical reforms, a due respect should be paid to this consideration. The consciences of University-men have not here to grapple with an act of Parliament. Elizabeth acted, indeed, in the character of our old British heroines, who knew how to govern as well as men: but she adopted the language of the Roman law, which does not breathe the pure spirit of British liberty[a].

These statutes are accordingly considered by many as of doubtful authority. If they were ever duly acknowledged, they have never been uniformly acted upon, nor, indeed, can be. Many of them pass, therefore, into silent neglect: but though the statutes leave the University still possessed of internal authority, and a power of occasional interference; nothing, perhaps, but the interference of the legislature would be an overmatch for a Princess's authority.

But let it be observed, whatever I may think of some of these statutes, I do not say that the royal authority does not extend to making statutes: the University and all corporations derive their rights and privileges from that authority; and I recollect the interference of Charles I. in the election of the Duke of Buckingham, when his Majesty so resolutely asserted that prerogative by message, and when the Commons avowed, to use their own words, "that they did not intend to enlarge their own power and jurisdiction, to the diminution of his Majesty's right and prerogative[b]". But I do say,

[a] *Mandatum necessitatem facit.* Prooemium ad STAT. Elizabethæ.—*Mandamus specialiter* ut ipsi nostra auctoritate, &c. Prooemium ad JUSTINIANI INSTITUTIONES. Indeed it is evident that the latter prooemium was the exemplar of the former.

[b] Rushworth's Historical Collections.

that the royal authority has no power to establish any thing contrary to the law of the land, nor in contempt of Parliament; that the laws* of corporations—in which light University statutes must be considered—cannot supersede or contradict a legislative act and I mean to say if letters and statutes with royal authority have a force to bind a university, an act of Parliament having the whole strength of the Legislature, would have greater, and, consequently, in any case where the University should deem itself aggrieved, and any thing be imposed by royal authority, contrary to the law of the land, they have a right to address, and to pray the interference of the Legislature? Constitutionally, no prince can change a law, nor make a new one, without the agreement of the whole realm in Parliament. Neque Rex ibidem, per se, aut ministros suos, tallagia, subsidia, aut quævis onera alia, imponit ligeis suis, aut leges eorum mutat, vel novas condit, sine concessione, vel assensu totius regni sui in parliamento suo expresso. FORTESCUE, DE LAUDIBUS, L. L. ANGLIÆ. CAP. 36. In Henry VIth's reign.

Mr. Serjeant Miller says, "The statutes were confirmed, together with the charters, &c. in the lump." But, with submission to the learned gentleman, this is

* On this principle, Mr. Serjeant Miller acted rightly. He resided, as he informs us, many years in the University, and in 1717 published his "Account of the University of Cambridge." The learned gentleman has not, I think, taken sufficiently into consideration the royal prerogative in universities and all corporations; but he acted rightly, in proposing to both Houses of Parliament, his few "Natural and Easie Methods," how the Legislature may for the future fix that (Cambridge) and the other great nursery of learning, *in the true interest of the nation, and Protestant succession.*

not quite correct. The former charters, and the letters patent 3 Eliz. are included; but not the smallest notice is taken of the statutes 12 Eliz. So that Dr. Parris (note to MS. Index to Hare's Collections) is perfectly correct, in saying, "under the broad seal, but not confirmed by Act of Parliament, as most of our charters are."

But whatever difficulties may exist as to the powers of this learned body for altering the *weightiest* matters of these statutes (from which those statutes preclude them), they are left possessed of full authority to remedy any lighter inconveniencies. The code, to say the least, requires revision. It might be wished, where obedience is required, that the injunction should be practicable; where punctuality is indispensable, that the form should not be revolting. Let us not omit to add, that where statutes are become obsolete (and some are become so) or impracticable (and, in the present state of society, some really are), or liable to be passed by; (and through inadvertency, some easily may, and necessarily must) the Vice-chancellor has a dispensing power; it being his custom, at the end of every term, to pronounce absolution in the following words: "By the authority committed to us, we absolve you from all small negligences, or transgression of the statutes, privileges, and customs, and restore you to God, and the sacraments of the church, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

The celibacy of the Fellows of colleges has been lately controverted by some members of the University[a];

[a] A Letter on the Celibacy of Fellows of Colleges. Johnson. 1794. Reflections on the Celibacy of Fellows of Colleges. Cambridge. Deigh-

for though on one side it has been insisted, that as ecclesiastical bodies, these societies were, in ancient times, prohibited from matrimony; that on particular colleges the law of celibacy was imposed by the founders; and that Elizabeth's statutes make it obligatory on all; it has been as seriously maintained, on the other, that the old laws of popery should not bind protestants; that a mere statute forbidding Fellows to marry cannot be set against an act of Parliament of Edward VIth's reign, authorizing priests to marry; that Elizabeth's statutes were forced on the University, against their consent; that they were never duly acknowledged, and could not be legally enforced; and that "though formerly colleges were considered as ecclesiastical corporations, yet that our lawyers do now, generally, consider them as lay[a]".

Let it be noticed, that the old statutes, by using the word ecclesiasticos, ecclesiastics, as effectually barred the heads of houses from marrying, as Fellows. Cranmer, in the old statutes, pared down the word *ecclesiasticos* to socios, leaving the door wide enough for masters to enter, though too narrow for Fellows: still the authority, even for the marriage of the Masters, was not positive, but left room for dispute. The cause was agitated; and, in 1575, the Masters triumphed, in the person of Dr. Goad, and on the ground, that Queen Elizabeth's statutes said nothing on the subject.

ton. 1798. Toleration of Marriage in the Universities, &c. By Charles Farish, B. D. Cambridge. Hodson.

[a] Blackstone. Comment. B. i. C. 18. It has been shewn, that our present colleges, though in their discipline, in some sort monastic and ecclesiastical, yet, for their foundations and *essential* powers, are derived from royal charters.

A *wiveless priesthood* was one of the first articles of complaint made against the clergy, by Melancthon, in a curious Latin letter to Harry VIII.[a]. Notwithstanding this, and, though as the Reformation advanced, it was still more cried down, our Virgin Queen rather favoured it; and though under shelter of her own articles (by receiving socios, instead of ecclesiasticos), heads of houses married, she was determined to keep a sharp look-out on their wives. Thus a letter of her's runs, dated 1561.

"The Queen's Majesty, considering how the pallaces "and houses, as well of cathedrall churches as of col-"leges of this realm, have been both of auncient and "late time, bilded and enclosed in, severally to sustain "and keep societies of learned men professing study "and prayer, for the edification of the church of God, "and so consequently to serve the commonwealth; and "understanding, of late, that within certain of the same "houses, as well the chief governors, as the prebenda-"ries, students, and members thereof, keep particular "households, with their wives, children, and nurses, "whereof no small offence groweth to the intention of "the Founders, and to the quiet and orderly profession "of study and learning within the same, &c. There-"fore her Majesty expressly willeth and commandeth, "that no manner of person, being *either the head*, or "member of any college, or cathedrall church, within "this realm, shall from the time of the notification "hereof, in the same college or cathedral church

[a] There is as curious an English Translation of this in the public Library at Cambridge.

"within this realm, from the time of the notification "thereof in the same college, have, or be permitted to "have, within the precincts of any such college, his "wife or other woman, to abide and dwell in the same, "or to frequent or haunt within the same college, upon "pain, that whosoever shall do contrary shall forfeit all "ecclesiastical promotions in any cathedrall or colle- "giate church or college within this realm."

This royal letter now sounds like barbarism. Heads of houses not only marry, but introduce, without scruple, their wives, and have their households, in college: nor is there danger that any university-regulations, or some act of the Legislature, should revive this musty letter, or make new statutes, to interrupt their domestic economies.

In the sixth year of her reign, her Majesty did the University of Cambridge the honour of a visit, an exhibition never witnessed by them before or since; a virgin Queen, appearing before this learned body, addressing them in the language of a scholar, but with the tone of a sovereign. PRINCIPUM DICTA LEGUM AUCTORITATEM APUD SUBDITOS RETINENT. *The words of Princes have the authority of laws with their subjects*[a]. Dixi: I have said.

Merry Fuller says, all were pleased with this visit. Sure I am, and subsequent events, and his own words, prove it, they could not be all pleased: and no English university, I trust, would now be pleased to be dictated

[a] The very words quoted by Sir John Fortescue, to shew the superiority of the common law of England over the civil. De Laud. Ang. c. ix.

to in the very language of the civil law, by an English queen, however learned. The Catholics were not pleased; the Puritans could not be pleased; and many of the University, who wore the smile of approbation, were surely not inwardly pleased.

The spirit of theological controversy was very busy in this reign; first, on points of church discipline, between Dr. Cartwright, Lady Margaret's professor, and Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, and Vice-chancellor, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury: next, on some hair-breadth distinctions upon the love of God, and justifying faith, between Dr. Baro, Margaret professor, and Mr. Chatterton, Master of Emmanuel College. 3dly. By a Concio ad Clerum, involving some niceties on the points delivered at St. Mary's Church, by Mr. Barret, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. The first was settled by the deprivation and expulsion of Dr. Cartwright; the second by Dr. Baro's being ousted of his place; and the last by a pusillanimous and ignominious recantation of Mr. Barret. To say nothing of the dispute on church discipline, it is most evident, from the others, that the favourite doctrine in the University at this time was Calvinism.

CHAP. VI.

JAMES I. HIS REGIÆ LITERÆ, AND INJUNCTIONS—GRACES OF THE SENATE.

JAMES VI. of Scotland succeeded to the English crown in 1602; and in his way from the north to the metropolis, stopped at Hinchinbrook in Huntingdonshire. The masters of colleges as delegates from the university of Cambridge, waited on him in their robes, to express their allegiance, and to receive a confirmation of their privileges. This was an interview most delectable to James. He was himself educated at a Scotch university, St. Andrew's; and was never more in his element, than when surrounded with learned men. He was a scholar, though pedantic; a theologian, though he never forgot, that he was a king. He was addressed in a Latin loyal oration by the university orator, Mr. Robert Naunton, whom he could not fail particularly to notice, and whom afterwards, with the title of Sir Robert Naunton, he made his principal secretary of state.[a] He also distinguished with his attention Dr. Montague, Master of Sidney College, who was afterwards raised to be Bishop of Winchester, and appointed to translate James's English works into Latin.

As the king, notwithstanding his Presbyterian education, professed now great zeal for the episcopalian reformation, he took powerful measures to suppress both

[a] Lloyd's Statesman and Favourite of England, p. 569.

popery and puritanism in the university. An act of parliament was made, that this university should have the presentation to all church benefices, schools, hospitals, and donatives, the patrons of which were popish recusants. Thus, Cambridge university had the patronage of the greater part of preferments (in the northern counties of England) which had belonged to recusants;[a] the southern fell to Oxford: and by other measures, to be presently noticed, James suppressed both the papists and puritans. It appears, also, by his bringing Mr. Sympson, fellow of Trinity College, to a public recantation before himself, of a sermon preached at St. Mary's, that he was a great splitter of hairs in doctrinal matters, and, for a long while, a professed Calvinist.[b]

This reign was a remarkable epoch in our university annals. James felt a pride in giving countenance to university-men, and in the settling of their disputes. But no prince had a more watchful eye on his prerogative, nor kept a closer account of debtor and creditor, in matters of state politics. So far as the University favoured his prerogative, he favoured their privileges. He sided with them in some instances against the townsmen. He first empowered the University to send two members to the House of Commons, though he prevented the town from being made a city: in all matters, civil and religious, he was for carrying his supremacy very high, as he shewed before some university-men, at the famous Hampton Court Conference.

James first introduced in our University subscrip-

[a] Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge.

[b] What may be called a moderate Calvinist, as appears from the Hampton Court Conference, in 1603.

tions to theological opinions, which were for a long time proposed to every youth as the term of admission into college, though now not required, at Cambridge, of undergraduates, but which are still enjoined on every one previously to his taking a degree in the University.

The king's orders on this subject, are dated Dec. 3, 1616. They were given under his own hand,* and delivered in his own person to the vice-chancellor, and some of the masters, at Newmarket. They must, therefore, I suppose, be considered among their privileges, particularly when we take into the account the Bishop of Winchester's letter, which was afterwards sent to the vice-chancellor.

"I have sent you his majesty's hand to his own directions; I think you have no precedent, that ever a king, first with his own mouth, then with his own hand, gave such directions; and therefore you shall do very well, to keep the writing curiously, and their directions religiously: and to give his majesty a good account of 'em carefully; which I pray God you may: and so with my love to yourself and the rest of the heads, I commit you to God. From the Court, the 12th Dec. 1616.

Your loving Friend,

JAMES WINTOW."

The articles, which James required to be subscribed, he called his three *darling* articles, which embraced an approbation of the doctrines, and of all the discipline of the church as by law established. The pretence for these subscriptions was laid in the disputes of the pa-

* Literæ Regiæ, Ad. Cant. 1616.

pists and puritans: whether they were at the time, or may now be the best expedients, to allay dissensions in the university, and to produce harmony in the state, I shall not in this place inquire; though it cannot be out of place to observe, that a writer[a] of some authority in our public schools thinks not.

By his royal letters, dated 1604, we find James prohibiting unprofitable and idle games, public plays, or exercises within five miles of Cambridge; and yet in 1614 and 1615 the comedy of Ignoramus was performed by his own order, in his own presence, and by university-men; and he himself made a riot in the house, by his excessive laughter, because, forsooth, the design of it was to turn into ridicule a lawyer of Cambridge, and, indirectly, the common law of the land; not to say that he himself also sanctioned, *the book* of SPORTS. So much for his majesty's consistency.

His injunctions, &c. sent to the University, were of the same character with his rules and subscriptions; and designed, besides the matter of discipline in the colleges, to prevent Catholics, and more particularly puritans, from becoming members.

What sense James put on these articles, is clearly a matter of but little moment. While he was in Scotland he was Calvinistical.—This appears from his Commentary[b] on the Revelations, and his Psalms, and the disputes which he was fond of settling with divines; and so he continued till towards the close of his reign, when he favoured the

[a] Dr. Paley's Moral Philosophy.

[b] There is a MS. of this in Mareschal College, Aberdeen, partly written by his majesty himself.

Arminians, if not Arminianism.[a] In the famous dispute on the meaning of the thirty-nine articles, (those I mean called *the doctrinal articles)* stress is wont to be made on the religious sentiments of Queen Elizabeth, and James, with their favourites, the imposers. James was a changeling, not remarkable for his sincerity, and, at all times, an habitual swearer.[b] What signifies it to ascertain the sense such a person put on articles of re-

[a] It is Hume who says, though with proper caution, that James I. was insensibly engaged towards the end of his reign to favour the milder theology of Arminius. Hist. Eng. vol. V. p. 572. The evidence however, brought by Mr. Toplady, in his Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, vol. 2, sect. xix. shews that James never positively renounced his doctrinal Calvinism. But what matters this? He distinguished his Arminian clergy, because they, at the time, were more favourable to his prerogative. He made Arminian bishops, because they aided him in relieving the Catholics, and preached the *divine right* of kings: James, therefore, must have sanctioned, whatever might be the original sense of the Articles, an Arminian interpretation of them, to give his clergy a ready access to their preferments. Accordingly, in his directions concerning preachers, the third article is, "that no preacher, of what title soever, under the degree of a bishop, or dean, at the least, do from henceforth, presume to preach, in any popular auditory, the deep points of predestination, &c. See Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. I. p. 64. James when in Scotland, abused Episcopacy, to humour the Presbyterians; and when in England he avowed, in the Hampton Court Conference, that his humouring the Presbyterians, when in Scotland, was mere hypocrisy. In short, James was a politician, and would be king in the kirk, or king in church—it was all one—king in the courts, and king in the schools; wherever he was, he would be king. Dr. Laud was one of his favourite bishops; and he, when Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Charles I. so favoured Arminianism, that it became the public religion of England.

[b] That he was so, when writing godly books in Scotland, hear one of his countrymen, his contemporary and admirer. "He wold make a

ligious faith? Elizabeth herself, as every body knows, occasionally, used the name of God very irreverently not to say, blasphemously.

In addition to this royal proceeding, the University, from time to time, had passed various senatus consulta, or graces, tending towards the same point, and, also, relating to the office and appointment of a public orator, the election of scrutators, the time and order for disputations in the public schools, together with the duties of proctors and moderators, and that no graces for any alienations were to pass before they had been read in three congregations, (1612) Fees for examination to order and rules agreed upon by the Syndics for securing the public library (this was in 1684) and other matters too numerous to be specified here but one, as more particularly comporting with the object of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, and James's Regia Litera, should not be passed by, namely, the grace de oppugnatoribus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, *concerning oppugners of the church.* Another passed July 16, 1603,[a] and a third, relating to subscription, passed A. 1613, in confirmation of James's

great deal too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher, verging on blasphemy; but would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from passion.' Fragments of Scottish History, p. 87. That he abated not the practice when in this country, his countryman Hume bears testimony, in his History of England.

[a] As Hare's dates are often a good guide to me, as far as they go, so from that period down to 1735, are Dr Parris's, being taken from the vice-chancellors' and proctors' books, and from the grace books, and other records of the University, and revised and corrected by him with care.

orders, &c. Such powers the chancellor has *cum consensu totius academiæ.* (Stat. Eliz. cap. 42. sub fin.)

Our readers have heard, in the progress of our little history, of the various disputes between the University and town, as also of the memorable award made, at the instance of Lady Margaret. After mentioning the many regulations in the University under Henry the VIIIth. to James the Ist.'s reign, it may not be amiss to make a summary of sundry articles, and the manner in which they were settled, between the University and town. For in 1524 articles of complaint had been made by the town against the University. The vice-chancellor's deputy had punished the mayor, by enjoining him to hold a taper of wax in his hand, while kneeling openly before an image of our Lady as a penitent. His offence was, maintaining the jurisdiction of his mayoralty against the *liberties* of the University. In 1534 it was decreed by the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other lords commissioners, who met at Lambeth for the purpose, that Sturbridge fair was in the precincts of the university, and that the vice-chancellor might hold a civil court there, for pleas, where a member of the university, or a privileged person, was one of the parties, and that the university should have the inspection of weights and measures, &c. together with the right of punishing forestallers, &c. In the year 1547 a letter was sent from the privy council, ordering, that the mayor and sheriff should acknowledge their offences committed against the proctors in Sturbridge fair, in consequence of not suffering malefactors to be taken to prison, who had been committed by the vice-chancellor. The precedency of the vice-chancellor before the mayor, in all commissions of the peace, and other cases where public shew of degrees

was to be made, was also determined, according to the judgment of the Earl Marshal of England; and in James the First's reign there were the king's letters patent, and an order of the lords of the privy council, settling and confirming that precedency, with other matters, that were deemed of importance[a].

James, having in his own judgment done so much for the University, thought, probably, he should not have done justice to himself, had he not left them a memento of his literature. Among the curious books of the public library is a copy of the Latin Edition of King James's *Works;* it is bound in velvet and gold, with the king's arms; and was presented by the king himself to the university. On the binding James has written, Jacobus R. D. D. This Latin edition was published in 1616 by Henry Montague, Bishop of Winchester, as before observed. Both the English and Latin Editions have portraits of the monarch, from the same painting, but the inscriptions are different.

[a] Hare, vol. 2, p. 119. Vice-chancellor's copy.

The precedency of the vice-chancellor, after some other disturbances, was, at length determined, in the highest court of Appeal, the House of Lords, May 12, 1647.

CHAP. VII.

CHARLES I.—THE PARLIAMENT.—THEIR NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY, AND EJECTION OF THE ROYALISTS.

JAMES left his dying injunctions to his son, Charles I. to pursue his course in all ecclesiastical and disciplinarian matters. True to this injunction, in favour of the University, Charles, on the 4th of March, 1629, sent from Newmarket, where he then resided, injunctions, orders, and directions, which contained, among some other regulations, that all his father's orders at any time sent to the University should be duly observed[a], and put in execution; but he invested the University with no new powers.

These injunctions were sent to Cambridge at a time when Charles was engaged in the most serious disputes with his Parliament, which, at length, breaking out into civil war, overspread, like a storm, the whole country. The storm reached Cambridge; the University sided with the King; several of the colleges sent him their plate and money; and when the King's party was overpowered, his University friends shared in the defeat[b].

In 1641, when the Parliament had shewn a design of abolishing episcopacy, the University addressed them in

[a] Dr. Parris's MS. Extracts.

[b] Querela Cantabrigiensis.

the most humble manner, in favour of their privileges and possessions, in April 1641, in Latin, and in the May following, in English.

The House gave the subject an hearing, and Dr. Hacket, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and then Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, made an elaborate defence of those ancient foundations; but it did not produce the desired effect.

The following is the English address[a]:

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the University of Cambridge,

Sheweth,

"That your Petitioners having heard of divers suggestions offered to this Honourable House, by way of remonstrance, tending to the subversion of cathedral churches, and alienation of those lands, by which they are supported, being the ancient inheritance of the church, founded and bestowed by the religious bounty of many famous and renowned kings and princes of this land, and other benefactors, both of the clergy and laity, and established and confirmed unto them by the laws of this kingdom, and so accordingly have been employed, to the advancement of learning, the encourage-

[a] From Mr. Robert Smyth's MS.

ment of students, and preferment of learned men, besides many other very charitable uses.

"May it please this Honourable Court, out of their great wisdom and tender care for the cherishing of learning and furthering of the studies and pains of those who have and do devote themselves to the service of the church, graciously to protect and secure those religious foundations from ruin and alienation; and withal to take order that they may be reduced to the due observance of their statutes, and that all innovations and abuses, which have, by some miscarriages, crept in, may be reformed; that so the students of our University, which, by the present fears, both are and will be much sadded and dejected, may be the better invited to pursue their studies; and the places themselves disposed to the most serviceable and deserving men, according to their first institution; and your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

March 4, 1642, The Earl of Holland, Chancellor of the University, represented further, in the House of Lords, the alarms and apprehensions of the University, when the Lords in Parliament ordered, that the colleges, chapels, libraries, schools, and other buildings of the said University, should experience no outrage or violence; and the Earl of Essex, in March 7, 1642, had given order, to the same effect, to all colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and all other officers under his command [a]. But the storm soon took a most violent direction.

The University had, as already observed, sent their

[a] Querela Cantabrigiensis. Preface.

plate to the King, partly for its security, and partly to supply the royal necessities: and the Parliament issued a command, entitled an Ordinance for regulating the University of Cambridge, &c. with full powers to eject such Masters and Fellows of colleges as opposed the proceedings of Parliament. Accordingly, numerous persons, both Masters, Fellows, and Students of colleges, viz. such as refused to take the covenant, as it was called, were ejected. After which, I might here speak, of a military quartered in the colleges; of libraries and treasures ransacked; of chapels dishonoured; of service books torn to pieces in the University church; of pictures and prints burnt in the market-place; of coins removed; of bridges, groves, and woods, cut down [a].

To fill the places of the ejected Masters and Fellows, such persons were appointed as in general approved the measures of Parliament, and a Committee for the reformation of the University was appointed in 1650: from that time, Oliver Cromwell had for several years a strong party in the University, hearty approvers of his measures, both at home and abroad [b]; but these

a Querela Cantabrigiensis, p. 13.

b See the OLIVA PACIS, ad illustrissimum celcissimumq. Oliverum, Reipublicæ Ang. Scot. & Hib. Dominum Protectorem, de Pace, cum fœderatis Belgis, feliciter sancitâ: Carmen Cantabrigiense. Cambridge, 1654. The principal writers were, Dr. Seaman, Master of Peter House, Vice-chancellor; Dr. Arrowsmith, Master of Trin. Col. and Reg. Professor of Divinity; Dr. Tuckney, Master of St. John's; Dr. Whichcot; Dr. Cudworth, Master of Clare Hall; Dr. Dillingham, Master of Emmanuel; Dr. Duport, Greek Professor, of King's; Dr. Worthington, of Jesus, Editor of Mr. Joseph Mede's Works; Francis Fane, Armiger, Emman. &c.

It is certain, that many of Oliver's party wished to make him

matters were transient; and as his mandates were, by a grace passed by the University[a], blotted out of the register-books, I shall not enter on these subjects here.

King; and there is in print a remarkable dialogue between him and one who espoused his cause on the subject; of which I am reminded here, by some Greek lines, signed I. V. T. C. Socius, in the Oliva Pacis. They begin—

> Χαιρ᾽ Αγγλων Βασιλευ, (τοσα δεδρακες, ηδε μενοινας,
> Ου θεμιτον ταττειν τουνομα μικροτερον.)

and end—

> Ουτως πασ σοι λαος επευφημησει αυσας,
> Ουκ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη· εις κοιρανος εςω.

[a] Apr. 27, 1661. De Mandatis Oliveri ex Registro delendis.

CHAP. VIII.

CHARLES II.'S RESTORATION—HIS NEW ARRANGEMENTS, AND EJECTION OF THE OLIVERIANS.

AT the Restoration, such of the royal party as were then alive, who had been ejected from their offices, were reinstated; those put in by the Parliament ejected; and Charles the Second, Feb. 6, 1660, at the beginning of his reign, sent his royal injunction to the Vice-chancellor and heads of the University. August 3, 1661, he, also, ordered, that Magdalen, Emmanuel, and Sidney Colleges, should be received into the Cycle for proctors, taxors, and scrutators: he also, in succession, sent various other orders relative to the government of the University, the degrees of bachelors of arts, opponencies in divinity, disorders in the Regent House, preachers wearing long hair and perukes, against preaching from book, with other particulars; and to the various queries sent by his command to the University, were returned answers expressive of a ready obedience, as agreed on, in a meeting of the Heads and Presidents, August 9, 1675.

In general, Charles enjoined, that the business of subscriptions should be resumed, and continue as it was in his father's and grandfather's reign. Among his new regulations were, that Lady Margaret's preachers' sermons should be dispensed with; and that, in conferring honorary degrees, knights and baronets should be con-

sidered as nobles. Charles's last communication with the University related to penalties for not performing bachelor of arts exercise.

Agreeably to the order of things now established, the University experienced another change. Charles was not favourable to either the theological or political opinions of the Puritans, who, under him, therefore, became subject to deprivations similar to what the royal party had under the Parliament; they who would not subscribe, nor conform, were obliged to abandon their University preferments. I shall not discuss the merits of the case now: there were men on each side of great abilities, equally excelling in the learning which distinguished those times; and the presumption is, that most, on each side, who chose to abide by their principles, and relinquish their preferments, were men of some worth; and by very many on both sides the latter was preferred.

Whoever wishes to inform himself relative to the royal party ejected, may consult Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, and Mr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, together with the Querela Cantabrigiensis, published in 1647. Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times, Mr. Pierce's Vindiciæ Nonconformistarum, together with Neal's History of the Puritans, unfold the principles and characters of such as were ejected under Charles the Second.

For my own part, in the progress of this work I shall pursue the same line of conduct as was pursued by the learned and candid Thomas Baker, who, in his MS. History of St. John's College, Cambridge, frequently alluded to in this work as being now in the British Museum, gives to the liberal and eminent of each

party a due portion of his respect. Happily for myself, if not satisfactorily to bigots of any party, I undertake to plead the cause of liberty and literature, not of party-politics, and domineering, denouncing controversies. I am writing a history circumscribed within facts, in which but little room will be left for panegyrics, none for invectives.

CHAP. IX.

DISSENTIENTS.

HERE seems a proper stop for our history: for we are now come to that period, when our University settles in its present form, encircled with privileges and statutes; producible, like the English constitution, as it now exists; but, like that, fluctuating, and depending, as we have hitherto seen it, on public opinion, for what it may hereafter become.

But, though this may be a proper stop, it would be a bad stand. Our University history admits of more variety than can be detailed in limits so circumscribed, or than I shall attempt to introduce. Its economy has never been realized, and some of its statutes, in the very moment of their novelty, became obsolete. It has been said, that Archbishop Abbot's, *Yield, and they will be pleased at last*, was a great miscarriage; and that Archbishop Laud's, *Resolve, for there is no end of yielding*, was great policy. But be the policy as great as it may, old customs, like old laws, must yield to natural feeling and public sentiment. From whatever the mind revolts, there must be a falling off; it cannot settle, like that eternal truth which cleaves to our hearts; it must either sink into disuse, or become matter of unmeaning form.

History possesses its quiet description of facts, its distinct periods, its regular round of story. These we

look for, of course: we like information, and are pleased to hear of things as they are. But what gives interest to history is, that, which sometimes disturbs our repose; the bold projecting points, which fix the attention, and command our admiration; its divisions, dissentions, revolutions, and wars: as in the natural world, we may expect what is orderly; are pleased with the gliding stream, with the spacious meadows, with gardens that are decorated with flowers, and fields standing thick with corn. But then there's the burst of elements! —we gaze with wonder at the storm; and are carried out of ourselves by the earthquake and volcano, which bears away all around it.

In nothing is there more formality than in accounts of the establishment and routine of public institutions; and the discipline of a university is almost proverbial: I have aimed to keep in the right-on, regular track: but universities are concerned with that mighty microcosm, the little world, of man; and what unfolds ampler varieties, what displays greater energies, than the human mind? Hence it is, that literature, which has its private pursuits, its calm studies, its enthusiastic dreams, its philosophic repose, has, also, its public disputes, its bold innovations, its religious dissentions, and its oppositions to established authorities. And the circumstances which seem to interrupt its order, and to break in on its quiet, are frequently those, which, by letting in a little variety, and by giving it something of a secular cast, render it more acceptable to the world, and give a character to its history.

And even those who are wedded to the retirement of academical life, like the occasional bustle, the busy operations, and the more tumultuous proceedings, as

recorded in history: the poet himself awakens from his dreams, his love of quiet, and heavenly contemplations: Cowley and Gray have their charms, but they must attend on other occasions. O! Tu severi Religio loci, would not be a suitable motto even for a University-history.

It was intended, agreeably to these views, after giving a general outline of the history of our University, to have selected, from the mass of materials, in different periods, some of the more striking incidents and public disputes, not as perceived merely in theological and political speculations, in which form they belong more immediately to our history of literature, but as exhibited in the examples of active spirits, disputing, enforcing old laws, or labouring after innovations: in short, of different classes of polemics, controversialists, oppugners, reformists, and of the University at large, as divided occasionally in the persons of its members into parties, by the clashing of opinion, and the mutual opposition of each other's measures.

But I must speak of these things in a very summary way, borrowing, for the most part, the words of the Monthly Magazine, where I have treated of them a little more at large, under the article, Dissentients[a], a general word, chosen for convenience, and, indeed, I think, not unsuitable to the place.

Leaving uncertain histories to take their own course, suffice it to say, that Britain was, at an early period, united to Rome; consequently, the academical controversies, carried on through a long period, would be on the points of the Romish faith, variegated, at

[a] In the CANTABRIGIANA.

length, by the metaphysical disputes of the favourers of the renowned SCHOOLMEN, Doctors Subtilis, Profundus, Angelicus, irrefragabilis, mirabilis, approbatus, resolutus, singularis. For Scotus, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and others, each distinguished by his peculiar mode of reasoning or feeling, had his appropriate favourers. These polemical digladiators divided all literary institutions, each being reckoned heretic by some one or other.

Next succeeded the *Lollards*, the followers of Wickliffe, in Edward III.'s reign. Wickliffe, indeed, was of Oxford, but his doctrines soon reached Cambridge, and excited controversy in the University and neighbouring villages; for we find commissioners visiting every college in 1410[a], searching out these "heretical pravities;" and about forty years after, several Lollards of Chesterton were obliged to abjure. One of the opinions of the latter will appear very singular, "That priests were incarnate devils[b]."

During the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth, the term Dissentient may be variously applied. Sometimes he dissents from Henry, and some of his favourite doctrines; at other times, he is a PROTESTANT, dissenting from Catholics; at others, a CATHOLIC, dissenting from Protestants. Whichever way he moves, he is a comet, causing commotion. For the King or Queen, for the time being, influences college matters, as well as the concerns of church and

[a] And 11 Hen. IV. H. MS.

[b] An account of these latter, together with their opinions, was copied by an industrious inquirer into these matters, from the MS. Register of Gray, Bishop of Ely, dated 1457.

state: Masters and Fellows, as we have seen, and therefore say the less now, were either promoted or displaced, according to the religion of the supreme magistrate: and we see at one time the Chancellor himself, as being a Papist, (I speak of Bishop Gardiner) confined in the Tower.

During the civil commotions in this country, in the time of the civil wars, EPISCOPALIANS were dissentient against the Parliament. All soon became confusion. Dr. Beale, Master of St. John's, Dr. Martin, Master of Queen's, and Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus, were imprisoned four years in the Tower. Dr. Richard Holsworth, also, the Vice-chancellor, before the end of his year, was imprisoned, first in Ely House, and afterwards in the Tower: and Dr. Cosins, Master of Peter House, Dr. Paske, Master of Clare Hall, Dr. Laney, Master of Pembroke, together with other Masters, almost all the Fellows, and many students, were removed from their respective colleges[a].

The Act of Uniformity, passed in Charles the Second's reign, caused the clergy to fall into their ranks: there, however, still continued some rebellious spirits, called PURITANS, who made warfare on the established church. They objected to it on account of the habits of the clergy, the surplice, tippet, and corner cap, together with the ring in marriage, the canons and ecclesiastical courts in general; all became the objects of their religious abhorrence. The different orders of the clergy, and the whole system of church-government, established in the preceding reigns, were, in like manner,

[a] Mr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, p. 141, 2d part, and Querela Cantabrigiensis.

offensive to them. They objected to the discipline of the church, not to its doctrines; accordingly, disapproving the terms of conformity, they were set aside from their benefices. About 2000 clergymen, in different parts of England, were obliged to relinquish their livings in the church, and many were ejected from the University of Cambridge. Among these, were Dr. Tuckney, Master of St. John's College, Dr. Dell, Master of Caius, Dr. Sadler, Master of Magdalen, Mr. Holdcroft, Fellow of Clare Hall, the father of the Dissenters in Cambridgeshire, and Mr. Ray, the Naturalist, the Fellow of Trinity: the latter rather resigned, than was ejected from, his fellowship, in 1662, not choosing to comply with the Act of Uniformity[a].

Having thus spoken of bodies of dissentients, we might pass on to individuals. We have already mentioned three in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who maintained controversies, which at the time much divided the University: Dr. Cartwright, on Church Discipline; Dr. Baro, Margaret-Professor, on Justifying Faith; Mr. Barrett (Fellow of Gonville and Caius Colleges) in his Concio ad Clerum, on certain theological distinctions upon "the Five Points." The result, towards the first, was, as before observed, expulsion from the University; to the second, the abandonment of his professorship; to the last, public recantation.

We might next proceed to speak of the case of Nonjurors; but, as generally speaking, those who did not choose to take the oaths, at the Revolution, were quiet, as was the case of Mr. Thomas

a Mr. Calamy's Abridg. of Baxter's Life and Times, with an Account of Ejected or Silenced Ministers, after the Restoration in 1660. Vol. II. p. 77, and Vol. III. p. 120.

Baker, our Socius Ejectus, we shall, for the sake of brevity, pass on to Mr. Thomas Woolston.

This gentleman, then, was Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, who published an "Old Apology for the Truth of the Christian Religion," in 1705; but what created most stir was, his "Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour;" in which he aims to shew that they were spiritual, and never literally performed. He is generally classed with Mr. Hobbes and Mr. Collins, among the UNBELIEVING DISSENTIENTS, though he treated his opponents as unbelievers, maintaining, that they had chosen to consider him as insane, because they could not answer his arguments. His book being in different parts, he addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and different bishops, whom, as well as the Queen (for he also addresses her at the end with some poignancy) he treats in a most ironical, sarcastic style of language. Being prosecuted, and convicted in the court of King's Bench, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. His writings—for he had previously published several treatises—had, as we must suppose, much agitated the University; and he had been obliged to resign his fellowship, not indeed through expulsion, but for positively refusing to reside the accustomed time allotted for residence, by the College statutes. One of his treatises, which indeed he had delivered in the form of a sermon in college, he addresses, with some corrections, in a very serious manner, to Dr. Fisher, the Master, and to the Fellows of this college[a].

[a] *The Exact Fitness of the Time, in which Christ was manifested in the Flesh, demonstrated by Reason, against the Objections of the Old Gentiles, and of Modern Unbelievers.* 1722.

Next may be mentioned his friend, Mr. William Whiston, Fellow of Clare Hall, and successor to Sir Isaac Newton in the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics. The doctrine about which he was most zealous was Arianism: the leading points of his theory being these; "that the testimonies for this sort of eternity, which alone we find for a good while after the Council of Nice itself, are a demonstration, that the real co-eternity of the Son with the Father, or his proper eternal generation, was then utterly unknown among Christians; and that it was no part of the sacred apostolical or Christian doctrine. The co-equality and co-eternity of the Holy Spirit he opposed on a similar ground." He believed Christ to be God, but a created God, and was most active and zealous in spreading the doctrine in the world and the University; becoming, at length, a dissentient, both from the doctrine and discipline of the church; thinking it his office, as a divine, to lift up his voice like a trumpet. His doctrines some of them enforced in the heart of the University, excited much controversy, and roused the indignation of some of its members. In 1710 he was deprived of his professorship, and, after being convened and questioned, he was expelled[a].

[a] The entire history of Mr. Whiston, while at Cambridge, is given after his HISTORICAL PREFACE, prefixed to his PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. His Letter to the Earl of Nottingham contains a summary of his Arian Controversy; and the curious prattling Memoirs of his Life and Writings, written by himself, and published in 1749, clearly prove, that some of his learned friends at Cambridge were little more orthodox than himself: as to Sir Isaac Newton, he must be considered as a *silent dissentient;* he had a creed of his own, with which he did not disturb the University. Mr. Hopkin Haynes' account of him will shew what that was.

Dr. Richard Bentley was first student of St. John's, and afterwards went to Trinity, of which society he was appointed Master in 1700. He was a dissentient though on a different ground: in his own college he carried himself in too peremptory a manner towards nonjurors. One contest he had with his college, which was carried on for twenty years; and another with Dr. Middleton and the University, which ended in a sentence of contumacy being pronounced against him, and he was accordingly deprived of his degree[a]. Nor was it till after a resistance of more than ten years that he reassumed, by mandamus, from the Court of King's Bench, his doctor's degree; but, thus, after a long conflict, and many violent bruises, he obtained a complete triumph over the University.

> Then freshly up arose the doughty knight,
> All healed of his hurts and woundes wide.
>
> SPENSER.

What was called Methodism was considered, at its rise, as a great disturber of the quiet of our universities. The first person at Cambridge who appears to have been much influenced by Methodism, or at least who excited any opposition as a dissentient on that account, at Cambridge, was Mr. John Berridge, Senior Fellow of Clare Hall, who, occasionally preaching in the pulpit of St. Mary, gave great offence to the Univer-

[a] Various little publications were directed against him: those of the greatest consequence to him must ha e been those written by Dr. Middleton; for they affected his reputation as a scripture critic, and were penned by men eminent as critics themselves. Bishop Pearce's observations may be seen in his WORKS, published after his death.

sity. He formed no party, at the time, which openly countenanced him in the University, but he soon had many admirers in the town and county. The Fellows of Clare Hall, it seems, disposed of him in a way creditable to themselves, and acceptable to Mr. Berridge, by giving him a college living, which was Everton, in Bedfordshire. This was in 1755.

Mr. Berridge, therefore, though he was no longer to be heard of as a dissentient at St. Mary's church, became another Holcroft, by preaching through Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and Huntingdonshire, in houses and barns, as well as his own pulpit: he even sent forth lay-preachers; many dissenting churches now in those counties were originally formed of his disciples; and some gentlemen of the University, in about 1768, were a good deal formed in Mr. Berridge's school.

The principal doctrine of this popular preacher (for so he became) related to the terms of acceptance with God, which, he taught, was to be obtained, only through faith in the complete righteousness of Jesus Christ, who, as perfect God and perfect man, was fitted to be mediator between God and man. He was a strict Trinitarian; though he did not affect to be a school divine. He was not unlearned, but used to decry learning, and his manner was deemed very eccentric[a]: but his doctrines Mr.

[a] He was author of a book entitled "The Religious World unmasked—Pray, come and peep;" but the Epitaph on his tombstone, written by himself, will best explain both his doctrine and his manner: "*Here lie the remains of* JOHN BERRIDGE, late Vicar of Everton, and an itinerant servant of Jesus Christ, who loved his Master and his work; and, after running on his errand many years, was caught up to wait on him above. Reader! art thou born again? (No salvation without a new birth). I was born in sin, Feb. 1716; remained ignorant of my fallen

Berridge maintained to be those of the Church of England.

Dr. John Jebb was of Peter House, of which society he was confirmed Fellow in 1761: he was a dissentient of a description quite the reverse to the former. His reputation stood high as a scholar, and what particularly alarmed the University was, his undertaking to give lectures on the Greek Testament, at his own house in Cambridge. In these, he broached doctrines repugnant to the thirty-nine articles; and a general order was issued, forbidding any to attend his lectures in statu pupillari.

Without detailing the particulars of Dr. Jebb's opinions, I can only remark, generally, they were Socinian, the prominent points being, that Christ was a mere man, and the doctrine of philosophical necessity. But his name stands related more immediately with a plan for public annual examinations of all under-graduates, in statu pupillari, not excepting fellow-commoners and noblemen. This subject greatly agitated this literary body for two years: for Dr. Jebb's politics and theology were supposed to be combined with it. His RESOLUTIONS were received in the Senate House, and set aside by a small majority, though supported by some of the most learned members of the University, and countenanced by the Chancellor.

In the ensuing October, Dr. Jebb published another plan, which met with a similar fate, rejected by a small

state till 1730; lived proudly on faith and works for salvation, till 1751; admitted to Everton vicarage 1755; fled to Jesus, for refuge, 1756; fell asleep in Christ Jan. 22, 1793." *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson, p. 55.*

majority in numbers, though supported by a majority of talents; no less than eleven doctors, six professors, and eight tutors of colleges, being in favour of the grace; and only six doctors, three professors, and six college tutors, who voted against it. On one side, Farmer[a], Halifax[b], Powel[c], and their friends, thought that the introduction of Dr. Jebb's plan into the University, would be another Trojan horse,

> Tunc etenim fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
> Ora. VIRGIL.

Law[d], Paley[e], Watson[f], Tyrwhitt[g], Plumptre[h], Lambert[i], &c. were warm on the other, thinking, that public annual examinations would improve the constitution of the University. In this state of things many literary skirmishes ensued, and much small shot was discharged on both sides. One tract, entitled, "A Letter to the Author of an Observation," written by Dr. Powel, was replied to, and with much point. It was anonymous; but known to be written by Priscilla, a lady, who, under that signature, so smartly replied to Dr. Hallifax, in the

[a] Dr. Farmer, afterwards master of Emmanuel.

[b] Bishop Hallifax, at the time professor of civil law

[c] Dr. Powel, master of St John's

[d] Dr. Law, master of Peter House, afterwards bishop of Carlisle.

[e] The late archdeacon Paley

[f] Dr. Watson, regius professor of divinity, now bishop of St. David's.

[g] Mr. Robert Tyrwhitt, of Jesus College.

[h] Dr. Plumptre, master of Queen's.

[i] Mr. Lambert, then Greek professor

public papers, as to have made the late archdeacon Paley say, on the occasion, that "the Lord had sold Sisera into the hands of a woman[a]."

Dr Jebb, after finding his proposed improvements unsuccessful, resigned his livings in the church, left the University, commenced physician in London, where also, he much distinguished himself as a politician.

And thus far, as a nightly sentinel, have I been keeping watch among the dead: but the cock crows, and I am warned of the approach of day: it is time to depart. It would be delicate, and difficult, to attend minutely to recent disputes, and living characters: so, in imitation of those who have preceded me in this post, I shall do little more than allude to some things of notoriety, that have passed in our own time, and give the dates of them.

Of this kind was the great agitation connected with Mr Robert Tyrwhitt's questions, proposed for discussion in the divinity schools, the latter end of 1770, or the beginning of 1771[b], and his grace for removing subscription to articles of faith from gentlemen on taking Univer-

[a] Priscilla was known to be Mrs Jebb, the wife of Dr Jebb.

[b] One of the questions the regius professor, Dr Rutherforth, would not suffer to be proposed, and "dispersed narratives of his engagement with Tyrwhitt, (they are Dr Jebb's words) "all over England." The question which Mr T. defended may be seen in Bishop Watson's preface to his Theological Tracts.

The form of the grace, for the removal of subscription, was as follows:

"Placeat vobis ut illi qui munia scholastica in regiis statutis contenta expleverunt, in posterum sibi concessam habeant gratiam pro gradu in aliqua facultate suscipiendo, etsi tribus articulis in canone tricesimo sexto comprehensis non subscripserint."

Dr Jebb's Works, as edited by Dr Disney, vol. I. Letters on SUBSCRIPTION, p. 207.

sity degrees: the stirring of these questions excited great ferment among all parties in the University at the time. This was in 1771, in which year, (December 31,) a petition, signed by a numerous body of under graduates, and presented by Mr. Crawford, fellow-commoner of Queen's College, was also presented to the vice-chancellor, on the same subject.

Of this kind also, was the trial in the vice-chancellor's court, of Mr. William Frend, fellow, and tutor of Jesus College, for publishing a pamphlet, entitled, "Peace and Union," within the precinct of the University. In this were passages, said to defame the established church, the ecclesiastical courts, and the characters of the clergy. This was in 1793. The pamphlet was, on one side, attacked by twenty-seven members of the University, but met with respectable support on the other. Nor has there been any form of a public accusation, since the days of Whiston, which has excited so much interest, as well from its length, as the abilities of the parties, concerned on both sides. This memorable affair terminated in Mr. Frend's ejection from his tutorship in the college, and banishment from the University, in 1793[a].

Some notice has already been taken of pamphlets, published in 1794, and 1798, on the celibacy of Fellows, and Mr. Charles Farish's opposition to this celibacy, in a pamphlet, entitled, TOLERATION OF MARRIAGE. He

[a] All the particulars of the proceedings of Jesus College, the trial in the vice-chancellor's court, Mr. Frend's acute and spirited defence, his appeal to the court of delegates, together with his address to the House of Commons, were published by the defendant himself, the same year.

must, therefore, be considered, under the present state of things, as dissentient. But not being aware that this matter has obtained any thing like *public* notice, either in the church, the school, senate house, or court of the University, so as to have excited any immediate surprize, or academical opposition, what has been said before on the subject will quite suffice.

The last subjects of dispute to be mentioned, are those which, at present divide the members of the University; they respect the condition of the Bibles, as to be distributed at home, or sent, for distribution, to missionaries abroad; the principal question being, whether they should be distributed with a Liturgy, or without it. The dispute has, at length, taken a public form, by having been discussed, in the town of Cambridge, at public meetings, consisting of persons of different religious denominations, some members of the University, others not; and are interesting to the University, from the talents of the principal disputants engaged; on the one side being Dr. Marsh, lady Margaret's professor of divinity; and on the other, Dr. Milner, Lucasian professor of mathematics, with others. This also is but just noticed.

Thus have I endeavoured to be brief on a copious subject: for each of the above articles, contained in this account of the Antiquity, History, and Disputes of Cambridge, would admit of much deliberate examination, and ample narrative; and, whenever they become the subject of an investigation more extended, my sincere wish is, that they may obtain an honest, impartial historian.

As to myself, the preceeding account being only a summary, I have preferred touching, what I deem of most consequence, though least flattering, to what, though

it might be more flattering, I deem comparatively of small consequence; and, perhaps, I may have dwelt the longer on it, because the view, which I, in sundry respects, have been giving of the University, is precisely that, which, I think, has not been given by our other Cambridge historians.

PART II.

LITERATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

CHAP. I.

BRITONS—SAXONS.

GILDAS, named the *Wise*, A. 495, speaking of the ancient Britons, observes, that they either had no records, or, if they had, that those records had been destroyed[a]. We need not, then, too rigidly explore into the literary pursuits of Caergrant, *the land of scholars*. A formal investigation into the nature of the schools, and the extent of the literature, of the ancient Britons, would be ploughing on the sand.

But, in making concessions, we may give up too much. It is difficult to conceive, that the Britons were either so lawless, as they are described by the writer[b] of the preface to Hywel Dda's laws, or so unlettered as Hume describes them[c]. The Bardic Institutions are very ancient; and

[a] Gildas de Excid. Britan. cap I.

[b] Leges Wallicæ. Edidit Gulielmus Wottonus, S. T. P. 1730. The preface is written by Dr. William Clarke, but the part alluded to has to struggle against great authorities, which may be seen in the aforesaid learned preface.

[c] History of England.

the Druids, according to Cæsar, taught several branches of literature [a]. They were forbidden, it is true, to commit them to writing—this accounts for their not being handed down to us—but Cæsar says, they had Greek letters, and Pliny describes Britain as an island, celebrated for its monuments of literature, both Grecian and Roman [b].

Anthony Wood, determined to do them ample justice, goes to the opposite extreme; describing them, as having a *whole encyclopædia of the sciences* among them; with institutions, resembling *our universities* [c], and having privileges, exemptions, and orders, like theirs. Camden had gone over the same ground before, though he trod it with more caution and prudence. Dr. Davies [d] says, the

[a] Imprimis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed aliis post mortem transire ad alios; atq. hoc maximè ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atq. eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de earum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt. De Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

[b] Britannia Insula clara Græcis nostrisq. monumentis. Nat. Hist l. 4. c. 16.

[c] Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. Universam Scientiarum Encyclopædiam, cognitam penitus, et excultam in hac insula floruisse——

Quemadmodum in *academiis* nostris nunc temporis agitur.

[d] Dr. Davies, author of the Linguæ Britanniæ, &c. Rudimenta, and a Welch Dictionary, traces it to the Hebrew, and says, Deniq. luce clarius est meridianâ linguam Brit. cum orientalibus, a quibus universæ linguæ ortum habent, magnam affinitatem habere—cum reliquis Europæis pene nullam.—Cambro. Brit. Gram. Præf. 1621. Camden endeavours to shew, (and he has both Cæsar and Tacitus on his side, de Bel. Gal. et Vit. Agric.) that the language of the Britons and Gauls was the same. Si igitur, says he, *priscos* Gallos, et nostros Britannos, eadem usos fuisse lingua, docuero, ejusdem etiam originis fuisse, ut fateamur, ipsa vis veritatis extorquebit. Britannis Primi Incolæ. Dr. Davies aims to establish his theory on the analogy in grammar, pronunciation, and prosody, between the Hebrew and Welch languages; Camden his, by a long

origin of the language is unknown, and conceives it to be sprung of the most ancient in the world. I only glance at these matters.

But, to say the least, a people to whose early acquaintance with civil liberty there is testimony so remote and full[a], and who, becoming Christians at a very early period, could so well assert their religious liberty[b], must not be confounded with those barbarians, among whom a state of nature is a state of war; and who follow, indiscriminately, as they are led by conquerors and tyrants.

Britain was considered, by the Romans, as another world[c], and described by different writers by different names, though neither the authors of them, nor the import, are sufficiently clear. Most of them, however, seem

list of words in the ancient Gaulish and British languages, corresponding in meaning: this, at least, may be said, that one opinion does not destroy the other.

[a] In Cæsar and Tacitus.

[b] Bedæ Hist. Angl. and after Bede, Spelmanni Concil: Brit.

[c] Hence Claudian, as quoted by Bertram, in his Notes to Ricardus Monachus Westmonasteriensis de Situ Brit. p. 9.

—— Nostro diducta Britannia mundo.

De Malii Theodosii Cons. v. 51.

and Solinus after him,—

Nomen pene orbis alterius.

Cap. de Britannia.

Horace had said before,—

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.

Lib. i. Od. 35.

and Lucan,—

Hic, cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis.

Pharsal. lib. x. v. 456.

to express something, either agreeable or useful[a]. The country was highly favourable to civilization; and, we may presume, to borrow a little classical language, that with a people, among whom Ceres[b] had so rich a temple, there would at least be a chapel to Minerva.

But whatever was possessed by the Britons was thrown into confusion by their successors. The Saxons came here at first as destroyers, not revivers. They possessed

[a] An attempt to give the true derivations may be seen in Bertram's Notæ in Ricardo Monach. de Situ Britanniæ, p.94, 95, &c. of the edition published in 1809. What this writer says is highly probable, and if true, is a confutation of Camden, in Britannia, p. 26, &c. edit. 1600, and of Somner, Glossar. Antiq. Britan. voce, Albion, p. 13.

Edward Williams, the Welch bard, (Poems, Lyric and Pastoral, vol. ii. p. 42.) says, Prydain is *beautiful*: Pryd is beauty, the termination *ain*, in Welch, meaning the English ful, in beautiful; and he thus differs from most of our etymologists. Stow always calls it Brutaine, or Brutane, from Brutus, the Trojan.

[b] Hence, in the Orphic hymns,

——— ιδ' εργα ζωματ' Ανασσης
Δημητρος—

where the writer is speaking of this island. In the same strain Tacitus. Solum præter oleam vitemq. et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum. Vit. Agric. c. 12.

Herodian, indeed, who wrote the history of his own times, and describes the expedition of Severus, the Roman emperor, into Britain, uniformly describes the Britons as Βαρβαροι, lib. 3, 1. But his history, in regard to foreign nations, relates merely to military affairs, in the wars of the Romans against them. For reasons above-mentioned, he could know nothing of the Druidical philosophy, whatever that might be. Herodian, too, was a Greek historian, of Alexandria, and followed the general strain of Greek writers, who treated all nations, but their own, as barbarous. He speaks not only of the Britons, but of all the eastern nations, that he mentions, as Βαρβαροι, barbarians; and yet the Greeks themselves derived their philosophy from the East.

a good language, and like all other warlike nations, something of a rude poetry; by accident, too, they obtained no illiberal notions of government. But in their own country they were still barbarians.

Yet, I cannot forbear observing, how totally Hume has passed over the literature of the Saxons, even in this country, or rather, confounded together the state of the Saxons in their own country, with their condition in this. To mistime is here to misrepresent. From the time of Augustine[a] they certainly had some literature in their monasteries[b]; and in the seventh century, Theodore and Adrian came from Rome to supply the place of an English archbishop, who died there on a mission to the pope. Bede tells us, they taught not only Latin and Greek, but astronomy, arithmetic, and Latin poetry. There is a curious specimen of the Lord's prayer, in what may be called Saxon Greek, in the British Museum[c]. To dig no deeper in this soil, the writings of Aldhem, Bede, and Alcuin, of Joannes Erigena, king Alfred, and

[a] He came here in 596, and was received by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who, with many of his people, received the faith. Ethelbert's laws stand the first in Wilkins's Ll. Angl. Sax., and the first of the laws relates to Ciric griþ and Mýnrtereſ friþ, the peace of the church and the peace of the monastery.

[b] Monasteries, however, were built here *before* the coming of St. Augustine, though not so soon as in other parts of Europe. Asceticon, lib. 1. And these monks well understood the grounds of their religion, and of civil and religious liberty, as their behaviour to Augustine proves. Spelmanni Concil. Brit., and Bed. Hist. Brit. lib. 1. cap. iv. ubi supra.

[c] MS. Cot. Galba. 18. It is quoted by Mr. Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Sax. vol. ii. p. 301. But I do not suppose the Greek language was *regularly* taught here; if it was, it was soon lost, as I shall shew presently.

Elfric, abundantly prove, that in the eighth and ninth centuries some considerable attainments had been made in literature. On a bad soil we must not expect a perfect harvest; but we should not say it bears nothing but weeds.

When Bede speaks of the school founded by Sigebert, king of the East Angles, he says nothing of the place, or discipline. But that the reader may possess all that is known upon the subject, he may take the whole passage, as it lies at length in Bede's History. I have my reasons for repeating it. I have quoted it before.

"Sigebert, when he obtained the kingdom, desiring soon to imitate those things which he saw so well managed in France, established a school, in which boys might be instructed in literature, bishop Felix, whom he had received from Kent, assisting him, and supplying them with pedagogues and masters, after the manner of those in Canterbury."

Upon which passage Dr. Fuller observes as follows:—

"See here, king Sigebert, to make his school complete, united therein such conveniences for education, as he had observed commendable.

"1. Abroad, in France, where learning, at and before his time, was brought to great perfection; St. Jerome affirming, that even in his age, he had seen *studia in Gallis* promptissima, *most flourishing universities in France.*

"2. *At home*, in Canterbury, where, even at this time, learning was professed, though more increased some forty years after, when, as the same Bede reports, in the days of Theodorus, the archbishop, there were those that taught geometry, arithmetic, and music, (*the fashionable studies of that age*) together with divinity, the perfect

character of an university, where divinity, the queen, is waited on by her maids of honour. But I question whether the formality of *commencing* was used in that age, inclining rather to the negative, that such distinction of graduates was then unknown, except in St. Paul's sense, such as use the office of deacon well, purchased to themselves a *good degree*."

CHAP. II.

COLLEGES.—UNIVERSITIES.—LITERATURE OF THE MONKS.

SIMILAR to the studies at Cambridge, were those in the three earliest colleges at Oxford, one for grammar, another for philosophy, a third for divinity, in which colleges St. Grimbald and St. Neoth, we are told, taught divinity; Asserius, a monk, grammar; John, of St. David's, logic; and Joannes Monachus, mathematics[a].

There is not much in what Dr. Fuller says, about *commencing* and *graduating*, the fact being, they did, what he calls, commence and graduate very early. In the account of monasteries it is, that we must trace the rise and progress, with the peculiar language, and distinguishing habits, of public schools and colleges. The *scholars* (for *fellows* is a name of comparatively later date[b],) were monks and clerks, clerici; the abbot was the *custos, rector, warden,* or *magister* of the different orders[c]; bishops and abbots were *graduates,* and were so denominated, and distinguished by their dresses; and the different habits as still worn, are but habits of the old religious orders, somewhat improved. The monastery itself, indeed, was called collegium; and its language, its rules, and discipline all passed, by an easy transition, into our present college forms.

[a] Ingulph. Hist. Mon.

[b] We meet with it, however, in Chaucer.

Our corne is stole, men woll us fooles call
Both the warden, and our fellowes all.

REVE'S TALE.

[c] Cnuti Ll. 4. Inter Ll. Anglos. p. 126.

As we get the word college, in its present application, from monastic institutions and churches, so do we the more comprehensive word university, which, as we have observed before, was applied to many monasteries or churches, united under one provincial prior, or bishop, in a provincial relation, long before it was applied to many masters and scholars of colleges, formed into an university, under a chancellor; and before the period at which our university charters begin, we find it applied to the united churches, and individual members, under an archdeacon's visitation[a].

These observations may help us to estimate the value of numerous opinions, relative to the origin of colleges, and particularly of such who would divide the matter by placing the first university at Stamford[b], under Bladud. What does it all amount to? there were colleges all over Kent,

[a] Ad universitatis vestræ notitiam volumus pervenire, nos cartam venerabilis patris nostri domini, &c. A Chapter's Confirmation of the Parsonages of Hakinton and Tenham, &c. A. D. 1227. See the Charter, in Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, Appendix, p. 153. I have repeated in the text, what I have observed before, for the sake of introducing the above quotation, that illustrates it.

[b] Thus our old chronicler, Harding, who wrote in Henry VI.'s reign, as quoted by Anthony Wood, (Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. p. 3.)

> Stanford he made the Sanford hight this day,
> In which he made a universitee;
> His philosophers, as Merlin doth saye,
> Had scholars fele of great habilitee,
> Studying ever alwaye in unitee,
> In all the seven liberal science,
> For to purchase wysdome and sapience.

In Chronico suo edit. Londini, 1543, cap. 27. fol. 23.

This was long before Christ, according to Stow. He says, "Bladud had long studied at Athens, and brought philosophers to keepe scholes in *Brutane*."

there was one in Dover Castle, in the eighth century[a]: the word occurs in the early Christian writers, as well Greek as Roman; and if we choose to have classical authority, the Romans had colleges and priests; and the word occurs in Horace.

> Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ.
>
> Sat. lib. 1, 2.

That scholars might pursue their studies without interruption, schools had very early peculiar privileges, and so far seem to have been considered as ecclesiastical bodies. Accordingly, we find, that king Canute, at a considerable expense, obtained of pope John, a free school[b].

But, to return to our literature.

It is not till after the Conquest that we can speak very clearly of the literature of Cambridge. Ingulphus was made abbot of Croyland, (as appears from DOOMSDAY BOOK,) by William the Conqueror. He wrote the Histories of the Abbies of England, and Petrus Blesensis continued the work. According to this latter writer, Joffrid de Herberto, a man of great learning, was made abbot A. C. 1109.

[a] Lambarde's Perambulations of Kent.

[b] Rex Cnutus magno cum honore Romam profectus est; et ingentia munera in auro et argento Sancto Petro obtulit; et ut schola Anglorum libera esset a Johanne Papâ impetravit: Chronicon Manniæ Apud Celto Norman. Whatever *schola* means, the phrase, quod schola sit libera, is exactly the same phrase as occurs in Magna Charta, by king John, quod ecclesia sit libera, and what that means is exactly ascertained by the same John's charta de liberis electionibus faciendis, which applies both to churches and monasteries; and that priests and monks had peculiar privileges by Canute's own laws, see Ll. Cnuti Regis, 2, 3, 4, in Wilkins's Anglos. Laws, p. 127. It further appears, that this freedom of Canute's school was ecclesiastical, it being granted by the pope.

He brought with him monks who had formerly belonged to his priory in Normandy, and been educated at Orleans in France[a]. Here, then, the account of the literature of our schools must begin.

This abbot had a manor at Cottenham, near Cambridge, whence the monks used to come to the schools, or colleges, and read lectures in different branches of literature, or, as they called them, the sciences, according to the order which was followed at Orleans. They divided the scholars into classes, which were attended by the four most learned monks. Odo, after the plan of Priscian and his commentator, Remigius, taught the juniors grammar early in the morning. Terricus, an acute logician, taught logic after Aristotle, as translated by Averroes next, to a higher class; William followed, and taught rhetoric after Tully and Quintilian[b]. This was called, in the language of those times, trivialia, trivials, or the three sciences, and hence the word trivials in our schools——to which four afterwards were added, which were then called the seven, or primitive sciences[c]. On Sundays, the chief, a *doctor in divinity*, whose name was Gislibert, used to preach in some church a lecture on the scriptures: and the abbot himself, when at his abbey, took his turn on Sundays. The churches and schools, we are told, became extremely

[a] Petrus Blesensis.

[b] Petrus Blesensis, p. 73. His predecessor in monastic history, Ingulphus, gives the same account of Oxford studies, (as observed before.) viz.: in 1075. But, whatever means of learning had existed in these parts before, all ancient writers agree, that the devastations of the Danes had been complete; so that Ingulphus says, Anglos agrestes, et pene illiteratos invenerunt Normanni. Hist. Mon. 239, 240. See further, Chronicon Joannis Abbatis Sancti de Burgo, A. 875.

[c] They taught at first in a barn. *Append. ad Inghlph.* Croyl. Hist.

thronged; nor, we may be sure, would the monks forget to raise contributions; and with these they repaired their abbey.

But the classic literature of those times was very limited: it reached not, we may perceive, beyond the Latin language: the library of Egbert, archbishop of York, many years before, contained only fourteen fathers and ecclesiastical works, ten ancient classics including two or three modern Latin writers, and more modern grammarians and scholiasts, and six more modern Latin poets;—nor does there appear to have been any thing of mathematics, except what might be found in a few of the writings of Aristotle, in Latin. And all this was made little more than the handmaid to scholastic divinity. It embraced, now, little or nothing of the Greek language, as a matter of instruction, though, as already has been seen, the Greek language was certainly known, and taught a few centuries before[a]: for, in a glossary on the Pandects, by Accursius, written after this period, we find it avowed, "Hæc Græca sunt, quæ nec legi, nec intelligi, possunt." *This is Greek, which can neither be read nor understood.* And in the DECREE, or "*Concordantia Discordantium Canonum*," that is, the Concordance of disagreeing Canons, compiled by Gratian, about this time, even the bishops are forbidden to read heathen books, and Jerome is quoted as authority, who was rebuked by an angel for reading Cicero[b].

The literary discipline of the monks, we may suppose, was in a course of advance on what had immediately

[a] Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. ii. p. 361, 362.

[b] See this matter, stated at large by Mr. Baker, in his Reflections on Learning, chap. xiv.

preceded them; though if they gained in some respects, in others they had lost.

The branch of literature most affected from the twelfth century was, the civil and canon laws: to this study the Norman doctors were always much attached, and they would be careful to promote it in the schools; accordingly, we find, that though the civil or Roman imperial law could never actually and formally take place of the common law of the land; and though the different shires were left in possession of their distinct laws, as appears by the Preface[a] to our Saxon Laws, and though William's Laws were but a translation of the Confessor's Saxon[b], still the civil and canon law became the more favourite pursuit[c].

[a] Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, &c. et Chronicon Lichfeld; prætix.

[b] Ces les meismes que le Reis Edward sun cosin tint devant lui. Ib. p. 220.

[c] The greater part of Britain had been entirely governed by the civil law from the time of Claudius to Honorius, A. 393, when Ulpian, Paulus, and Papinian presided in the courts: it, however, had lost its ground, till introduced again by Theobald, a Norman abbot, and Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1138, when Vacarius was appointed to teach the civil law in the University of Oxford.

The case stands thus: a copy of Justinian's Pandects having been discovered at Amalphi in Apulia, about the year 1130, brought the imperial or Roman civil law into notice again, after its long discontinuance in the west of Europe, and it was adopted by the Romish clergy, the canon law being indebted to it for some of its principal customs and maxims: from that period it became a regular study in foreign universities, and degrees were conferred both in civil and canon law; hence, utriusq. legis Doctor; and, on the overthrow of the Roman Empire, when the different states of Europe settled in regular governments, their constitutions were founded on the principles of the civil law.

By the laity of England, it is well known, the civil law was not graciously received, as ill-according with the more liberal principles of the common law: but "as the clergy (I borrow Blackstone's words) en-

The civil and canon law each consisted of two parts. The pandects of the former contained the judgments of the most distinguished Roman lawyers; the code comprised the laws of the Emperors. The decrees of the canon law, in like manner, are composed of the authorities of fathers and councils, as the decretals are the decisions and the ordinances of the Popes. This branch of literature was highly cultivated: it was particularly favourable to the views of the Papal authority; but the first order from Rome that I meet with on this subject, is a bull of Pope John, in the 17th of Edward II. which was sent to the University of Cambridge, concerning certain constitutions of his[a], to be read in their schools, as the other decretals. We may judge to what extent, in the progress of years, this study was carried, by those Gothic volumes, with abbreviations on abbreviations, yet still running out to immeasurable volumes, which were published not long after the

grossed almost every other branch of learning, so, like their predecessors, the Druids, they were peculiarly remarkable for their proficiency in the study of the law," and "though the civil law process could not be introduced into our courts of justice, yet the clergy read and taught it in their schools and monasteries."

Sir John Fortescue, who wrote a book on the laws of England in Henry the VIth's reign, assigns reasons why the civil and canon law were studied, preferably to the common, in our English universities, and I must think there is some validity in them, though certainly Blackstone's adds to them, viz. "that wherever they retired, and wherever the Romish clergy's authority extended, they carried with them a zeal to introduce the rules of the civil in exclusion of the municipal law." Commentaries, in the Introduction.

[a] MS. Index primi vol. Hare, p. *4.

invention of printing, and which repose like so much old lumber, in the corners of some public libraries[a].

With respect to scholastic learning, this at first consisted of little more than some parts of the scripture, and extracts from the Latin fathers, with a few pieces composed by the earlier Saxon bishops. It was increased afterwards by the writings of Augustine, Tertullian, and St. Bernard; together with more modern doctors. Then succeeded the famous Peter Lombard, the Magister Sententiarum, who, as Gratian, had collected the opinions of the Fathers on the canon law, made another collection of them on the doctrines of the church.

Scotus, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, each, as already shewn, distinguished by some epithet characteristic of his mode of reasoning, or feeling, had their appropriate favourers: the theology of these divines mixed with a little of Aristotle, by the Arabians, translated into Latin, and ill understood by our scholars, composed the scholastic learning of these times.

It is of this scholastic philosophy that Lord Bacon so well observes, that it was upon every particular position or assertion to frame objections, and to those objections solutions, which solutions were, for the most part, not

[a] Hence, in an excellent modern poem, a la belle humeur,

Old Gothofridus, with a Corpus
As fat and clumsy as a Porpus;
Him too with all his *Galimatias*,
Scaliger's Jewel, sage CUJACIUS,
Though still they keep their ancient state,
Their grandeur, dignity, and weight,
And claim respect like veteran beaux,
Or mountebanks in tarnish'd clothes.

Pleader's Guide, Part I, Lect. 3.

confutations, but distinctions; and the result of which is, that men, seeing such degladiation about subtleties, and matters of no use nor moment, they easily fall upon that judgment of Dionysius of Syracuse, Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum[a]."

Dr. Cave, in his *Historia Literaria*, gives to each age a discriminating title. *This* he might have called the dreaming age. Dreams may be often delectable, and present shadows of realities: but he, who would behold substance, should approach it with open eyes; he who would perceive truth, must investigate it, but with faculties wide awake.

As to philosophy, each country has its own; for, though in speaking philosophically, we may say, science is but one, yet have different nations, and even different sects, their own point of sight, whence they are wont to survey the works of nature; their own principles and rules, by which they philosophize and reason. The ancient Stoics, as Diogenes Laertius shews[b], divided philosophy into natural, moral, and rational: the Peripatetics into two, speculative and practical[c]; and taking the knowledge of divine and human things as the common definition of philosophy, we must admit, that speculative philosophy was more studied in these times than the practical. For the latter being conversant in human things, depending on our acquaintance with facts, to be submitted to our senses, and following the order of our knowledge, did not suit the scholastics of that age. Aristotle was their master, and a great master he undoubt-

[a] The Proficience and Advancement of Learning.

[b] In Vita Zenonis.

[c] Aristot. Metaphys. Men. Cap. I.

edly was (he was the master of Bacon himself); but they followed him wrong; by making his Categories, Analytics, Topics, and Elenchus, which he raised only for a scaffolding, a superstructure, they formed out of an useful art, a predominating, overpowering, fruitless science: setting out with the order of nature, rather than of our knowledge, they began metaphysics first, and taught it most, without considering that metaphysics, agreeably to its definition, is after nature, not before it. And here Bacon broke loose from the philosophy of the dark ages: for geometry and physics would of course be but little studied by the schoolmen, at least not with much curiosity of observation, nor for any great practical end. They dwelt on principles, matter, form, and essences; distinctions often too nice to be seen, or too mysterious to be understood. They had, however, a Latin translation of Euclid, and professed to teach astronomy. This continued the course of philosophizing for some centuries in Europe, and was that followed in the schools at Cambridge. Burgersdicius, whose book, entitled Idea Philosophiæ Naturalis,—a text book in both our universities, not many years since—shews the order of philosophizing in his age, exhibits, also, in fact, that employed many centuries before.

It is well known, that mathematics, in its definition, was formerly more comprehensive than now. Pythagoras made it take in harmonics, and the proportions of music; and in the old definitions of our schools, it is made to embrace not only arithmetic, but music; an observation introduced not for its own sake, but for the purpose of noticing the particular use to which music was rendered subservient, for many centuries, previously to the reformation, and in what way it became a study.

I allude not to the moral and political use, to which, as Plutarch observes, music was applied by the ancient Greeks[a], but to that employed by ecclesiastics and monks. In cathedrals and monastic churches, the whole service was, in the course of time, chanted in certain harmonic proportions. In the parts which engaged the priest were peculiar intonations, or syllabic distinctions; and in the other parts there were tenor, bass, counter, and treble—and in some more; so that church music became at length an intricate science: for these[b] figurate descants, as they were called in the middle ages, were employed by the monks in all the different services, no less than in the psalmody and supplicatory parts. I am speaking of a time, "when every thing (to borrow Mr. Mason's words) was scholastic, and when there were schoolmen in music as well as letters."

These figurate descants were confused, and often rendered extremely ridiculous. One example of this kind (I borrow Mr. Mason's words) may suffice, and a more ridiculous one can hardly be conceived, "The genealogy, in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, was thus set to music; while the bass was holding forth the existence of Abraham, the tenor, in defiance of nature and chronology, was begetting Isaac; the counter-tenor, begetting Jacob; and the treble begetting Joseph, and all his brethren."

[a] Plutarch's Moral Treatises:—on Music.

[b] Itaq. vibratam illam et operatam musicam quæ figurata dicitur auferri placet, quæ sic in multitudinis auribus tumultuatur ut sæpe linguam non possit ipsam loquentem intelligere. Reform. Leg. Eccles. Legum, as quoted by Mr. Mason: Hist. and Crit. Essay on Cathedral Music, p. 17.

Whoever chooses to look into the Salisbury Breviary[a] may see how numerous these services were: King's College Library, and St. John's, Cambridge, possesses each a very large MS. which will illustrate the nature of the collegiate music: from all which it may be inferred, though the office of Professor of Music is of inferior date, yet that there was more of teaching in this art formerly than now. The cantor, or principal singer, held a place of some consequence, and was generally distinguished by literature. Among the Saxon writers, Eddius, the principal singing-master of Northumbria, wrote the Life of Wilfrid, bishop of York, the favourite priest of the celebrated Etheldreda, abbess of Ely. The cantor was often advanced to the highest monastic[b], or ecclesiastical rank, of prior, abbot, or bishop.

The venerable Bede says, it was a part of his regular ecclesiastical discipline to learn and teach singing, to the 19th year of his age[c]; and John the arch-chanter of the Apostolic See, when he came here to instruct in chanting, was Abbot of St. Martin's[d].

The figurate descants above mentioned were, probably, an improvement, if not, rather, a corruption of Pope

[a] Portiferum, seu Breviarium ad usum Ecclesiæ Salisburiensis castigatum, Londini 1555. I have the second volume, being only the Estiva. It is black letter, and consists of about 800 pages (though it is not paged) in 4to.

[b] Ingulp. Hist. and Bentham's Hist. et Antiq. of the Cathedral Church of Ely.

[c] Atq. inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis, et quotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui. Bede's account of himself, at the end of his five books of Eccles. Hist. Gent. Angl.

[d] Eccles. Hist. & Lib. 4. Cap. xviii.

Gregory's mode of singing: and by what process they became so enlarged, it is unnecessary to inquire. The period when they were changed for simpler music was in the reign of Edward VI.[a].

Those of our colleges, that were formed in Popish times, retained much of the *Gradus chori*, after the plan of the monasteries: the old monasteries had schools in them, some of two descriptions, the outward and the inward[b]: those in the outward, amidst other things, were instructed in music, like our modern choristers; and Peter House, Clare Hall, Pembroke Hall, and Jesus College, all had formerly their choristers and singing masters, no less than King's, and Trinity.

Next as to their divinity. Of religion we are wont to think and speak with reverence; and justly, where it is that of the heart: *for with the* HEART man believeth unto *righteousness*. But as, in the world, we distinguish king-craft from the science of government, so in the schools should we the religion of skill from that of the conscience. Men, with assistance of Syllogism, and "*Book-learning*," may prove any thing: they may be subtle disputers, acute critics, profound philosophers, and even solemn persecutors, without the *belief of the heart*: that is to be revered under all forms: but at mummery, mere Syllogism, and *book-learning*, a man may be indulged in a smile.

> He was in logic a great critic,
> Profoundly skill'd in analytic;

[a] Vid. Reform. Leg. Eccles. Lib. v.
[b] Asceticon, Lib. v. Cap. 10.

He could distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side;
On either which he could dispute,
Confute, change hands, and yet dispute
He'd undertake to prove by force
Of argument, a man's no horse:
He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
And that a lord may be an owl:
All this by syllogism too,
By mood and figure he could do.

In truth, the divinity of those times was so interwoven with its scholastic learning, as to be separated from it with difficulty; nor is it to our purpose to go into all those doctrines, which, as belonging to the Popish religion in general, are not peculiar to that age; nor to those other opinions relating to the Unity or Trinity of the Divine nature, and the decrees; nor indeed to any doctrines as divided by divines into doctrines of religion, natural, or revealed. Peter Abelard, Peter Lambard (*the Master of the Sentences*), Thomas Aquinas (of the *Sums*), Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, and Duns Scotus, (that is to say, their several doctrines, as before observed) now divided the schools, with others, who, while studying *all the sciences*, mingling their metaphysics with their divinity, and their logic with both of them, formed that amalgama, now generally denominated the *Scholastic Theology*[a]. And in this too Aristotle had a hand, "but for whom these times (though they left out some of his better parts) had wanted (as Thomas Baker expresses it) some articles of faith."

Nor should we omit to add, that when the schools were first opened to receive the monks, that they could

[a] See Brucker's Hist. Philos. or Dr. Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy (2d vol.) being an abridgment of that great work.

not fail to impart to their scholars some propensities towards revelations and supernatural dreamings, together with their skill in miracle-making; which, if we scruple to call their literature, or theology, formed, at least, the superstitious costume of those times.

For there is as regular an account of the miracles of our first archbishops, bishops[a], abbots, and lady abbesses[b], as of their other attainments; and that the power was at length advanced to a sort of science, or at least to a consummate kind of skill, may be collected from the famous Rood of Boxley, and the Image of our Lady: concerning the former, I cannot forbear quoting Lambarde's words: "It needed not Prometheus' fire to make it a lively man, but only the help of the covetous priestes of Bell, or the ayde of some craftie college of monkes to deify it, and make it pass for a very God[c]." The periods to which we allude would em-

[a] See Wharton's Angl. Sac. Vol. I.

[b] See St. Ethelburga's miracles, in Bentham's Hist. of Ely. But the most singular romance that I have read of this kind is the Life and Miracles of St. Rhadegund, a black-lettered book, in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge.

[c] The structure itself of this rood was so curious, as to pass for miraculous; "but the horse bearing the image on his back, leaving the carpenter who made it, and being driven (as it were) by some divine furie and beating and bouncing with his heeles at the Abbay Church doore, together with the service it doubtlesse rendered the Abbat and Covent," completed the miracle. I spare my reader and myself the trouble of the whole story; to which Lambarde (PERAMBULATIONS OF KENT, p. 228) appositely applies the lines of Horace:

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum;
Cum Faber, incertus, scamnum, faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse Deum. *Hor. Epist*

brace those years, distinguished by corrupting the Fathers, forging books and charters, and every species of *pious fraud*. These, you will say, rather belong to the cloysters, than the schools—in truth they drew well together—and so let us there leave them.

> Ηκω νεκρων κευθμωνα, και σκοτου πυλας
> Λιπων. *Euripidis Hec*
>
> Leaving the dead, and gates of darkness drear,
> I spring to light.

We next proceed to poetry.

Nothing is more characteristic of a country, in its different periods, than its poetry. But the poetry of Cambridge possessed nothing to distinguish it from that of any other part of England, except that it might possess *more of Latin:* for our Saxon ancestors had poetry in their own language, but it soon took a Latin turn, which they derived from Italy.

The poetry in the Saxon language was characterized by periphrasis and metaphor, frequent ellipses, and a cadence not exact. It often admitted rhime, and abounded with alliteration. The following fragment of a ballad of Canute the Great, is one of the best specimens of the

> A fig-tree block I was, a useless log,
> Till Carver, doubting whether he should make
> A bench, or a Priapus, did, at length,
> Resolve to make a God of me.

The whole narrative reminds one of the *dream* of Severus, in which a horse, properly caparisoned, shook off the Emperor Pertinax, and stooping down, invited Severus to mount, which first induced him to aspire at the empire. Herodian. Hist. Lib. iii. 31.

Saxon Rhythm; and it seems to have been designed for rhime.

> Merie sungen ðe muneches binnen ely
> Tha Cnut ching reuðen bẏ;
> Roweð Cnites, noer ðe land
> And here ƿe ðes muneches sang.

That is,

> Merry sung the monks in Ely,
> When King Canute sailed by;
> Row, knights*, near the land,
> And hear what these monks sang.

This is the fragment of a song, written as the king was on the river, and heard the monks of Ely chanting their devotions, and may therefore serve as a specimen of the poetry of their neighbours, the monks of Cambridge.

The above stanza is introduced as well for the sake of what follows, as for itself: for the following lines are one of the earliest stanzas in English poetry, in its departure from the Saxon. It is a fragment of a hymn to St. Nicholas, to whom Henry VI. at first dedicated his college, now called King's: the author too, for aught I know, might have been of Cambridge; for he was born in the kingdom East Angles, and might perhaps retain some college-feelings for Saint Nicholas.

> Sainte Nicholaes, Godes druð,
> Tymbre us faire scone hus.
> At þi burth, at þi bare,
> Sainte Nicholaes bring us well þare[a].

* Or servants.

[a] i. e. St. Nicholas, God's lover, build us a fair beautiful house. At thy birth, at thy bier, St. Nicholas, bring us safely there. 1 Bib. Reg 5. F. 7. Bib. Har. 322. See Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica.

These lines were considerably more ancient than Chaucer; for St. Godric, the author, died in 1170, and Chaucer was born about 1328.

The *earliest* of our Saxon poets was Cædmon: he was a monk, and died in 680. But he who has furnished us with the best specimen of Saxon lyric poetry was King Alfred the Great, whom both universities are willing to admire.

But it was natural for them, who had derived their religion from Rome, to derive from the same source their poetry: hence they so much affected Latin verse. This was more generally dedicated to the prevailing belief of a superstitious age, though they had other poetical fancies; and it abounded with conceits, occasionally in the acrostic form, and sometimes with a rhime at the beginning and end of the verse: but, generally speaking, their Hexameters and Pentameters did not so much abound with false quantities as did the Latin verse of some ages that followed. I must not fail to observe, too (whatever has been said to the contrary), that the Saxons had the poetical romance[a].

The Saxon poetry began to assume more of the English, by partially introducing, at first, what is now called the *English* and Roman characters[b]. Of the former, a

[a] See this well proved in Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. book xii.

[b] This continued the practice for several centuries, more particularly in Latin inscriptions, to a very late period. Blomefield mentions one in St. Clement's Church, Cambridge, as late as 1538. Collect. Cantab. p. 59. Hence it becomes impossible to ascertain any thing from the intermixture of the Saxon and Roman character, in ancient inscription, as for instance, from those of BeRTe ROSATA, and JOHANeS De PYKeNPAM, in Jesus College, Cambridge. There was an inscription in the Gothic character, dated 1591, in the Old Chapel of Queen's.

specimen, retaining only a few Saxon letters, has been given. It occasionally enlarged the system of alliteration, introducing three or four, or even five words, beginning the same word in the same line. This concetti-ing is carried throughout a very long poem, Pierce Ploughman's Visions, of the 14th century, and the humourous little piece entitled the Tournament of Tottenham, to be seen in Percy's Collection of English Ballads:

> Of all kene conquerors to karp were our kind,
> Of fell fighting folk a ferly we find.

Our Cambridge poet, Gray, retains more of this devise than any of our other English poets, as may be seen at the beginning of his BARD: Mason, also, thought proper to tread in his steps.

In our public and college libraries are, as might be expected, several manuscript poems of our old poets, as Chaucer, Lydgate, Ocleve, and Laugland, the author of Pierce Ploughman's Visions: one may be mentioned, as a literary curiosity, if for no other reason, than that, probably, it was never read through, at least, since it was placed in Bene't College by Archbishop Parker; and we may presume never will. His secretary gave not the true title: he never read it: and Mr. Nasmyth, the most conversant in these MSS. owns he had not courage enough to go far in it[a]. I need not blush, therefore, to say, tantum vidi, and read a few lines in it. Nasmyth had read

[a] Nasmyth's Catalogue of the MSS in Archbishop Parker's Library.

enough, for his account: it is entitled—the Romance of the St. Grayl; and consists of 40,000 lines. He thinks it translated from the French, mentioned in Nicholson's Hist. Lib. p. 91. 1st edit.

It is thought by some that Chaucer was of this University, as well as Oxford; and Fuller, in confirmation of the opinion, quotes the well-known lines—

> What is your name? Rehearse it here, I pray,
> Of whence, and where, and what condition
> That ye been of, let see, come off and say;
> Fain would I know your disposition.

To which (says Fuller) he returned, under the assumed name of Philogenet, of CAMBRIDGE CLERK [a].

Archbishop Tenison, quoted and followed by Smyth [b], thinks, Chaucer was not of Cambridge, though I do not think their reason has any thing to do with the subject. Chaucer was a man of distinguished rank, and it is likely enough, as many eminent men were, that he was of both universities. It is probable that some of our earliest poets, prior to Chaucer, were of Cambridge University, having been born in the neighbouring counties, as were St. Godric, Henry of Huntingdon, and

[a] Chaucer is commonly spoken of as the father of English poetry; but we should incorrectly trace (yet some have ventured to trace) the *purity* of the English language to Chaucer; the fact being, that in attempting to enlarge and enrich the language, he corrupted it, by introducing into it many Gallicisms, as the Normans had done before; which did not comport with the English idiom, and, indeed, stripped our language of much of its original grace. See Skinner's Preface to his Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ.

[b] MS. Notes on Carter.

Bishop Grostet[a]; though the latter is, for certain, known to have been at Oxford.

[a] Bishop Godwin gives Grosthet to Oxford; but adds Dr. Richardson, Cantabrigiæ studuit ait author Vitæ, Cap. 16.

Doctrinam capiens, quæ Cantabrigia dicta.

Dr. Richardson's edition of Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. p. 289.

It is remarkable, that neither Godwin nor Richardson take any notice of Grosthet as a poet. But see Ritson's Biblioth. Poet. p. 11.

CHAP. III.

AGE OF WICKLIFFE, AND PROGRESS OF LITERATURE.

WE should exceed in dwelling on the poetry of these times: it is more to our purpose to observe, it had no small influence on their literature. The age of Chaucer forms an epoch in the history of the English language; and most of our English poets were Lollards, zealous in exposing the vices of the clergy, and the abuses of monasteries. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, and his prose Dialogue (quoted at large in Fox's Martyrology) are stored with raillery on the subject; Gower was a satirist of the clergy; Bishop Grostet went to Rome, and in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals, violently exposed the enormous sums drawn by beneficed Italians out of England, and taught the doctrine of GRACE. The two latter were seized with a spirit of prophecy common to most early poets, in denouncing the clergy, and the downfal of monasteries: the following passages are worth quoting. The first are from Gower (no great poet, indeed, even for his time); he is speaking of Grostet:

For of the greet clerk Grostest
I red, how redy that he was
Upon clergy an head of brasse
To make it, and forge it, for to tell
Of such things, as befell,
And seven years business
He laid: but for the lachnesse

Of half a minute of an houre,
From first that he began labour,
He lost all that he had doe[a].

Pierce the Ploughman was more successful as a prophet: the passage is very remarkable, and is made by some to refer immediately to the downfal of abbies under Harry VIII.

There shall come a king, and confesse you relig ... ,
And beat you as the Bible telleth for breaking of your ru...
And amend monials, monkes and chanons,
And put hem to her penaunce, ad pristinum statum ire—
And than shall the Abbot of Abington, and all his issue for ever,
Have a knocke of a kynge, and incurable the wounde[b].

This work was written about the year 1362, and brings us to the age of Wickliffe, the harbinger of the Reformation. The writings of this worthy man had great influence both on the religion and literature of the times. His doctrines embrace what are called the five points, including absolute predestination, agreeably to the notions of his "spiritual father" Archbishop Bradwardin, in his famous book De causa Dei[c]. Hence he was called the *Evangelical Doctor*, as Bradwardin was the *Profound*.

[a] Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univers. Oxon. l. i. p. 82.

[b] There are only two editions of this curious book, one by Robert Crowley, in 1550, the other by Rogers, in 1561. There is a MS. of it in the public library, and Bishop Parker's, Cambridge; among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum Library, and two or three in the Bodleian. The printed editions vary (as do the MSS.) from each other; and it would require both skill and industry to give a good edition.

[c] See ample quotations from this Treatise in Toplady's Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England. Works, vol. i. p. 190. He observes rightly of Dr. Wickliffe, that he was an absolute Necessitarian, supposing God himself to be a necessary agent.

Whoever wishes to examine this curious point, may have proof at large in Wickliffe's Translation of the New Testament, which is about the date of 1370: the Translation of the whole Bible was completed a few years after.

The doctrines of Wickliffe affected the literature of the country in various ways. To the Pope's domineering pretensions of interfering with ecclesiastical benefices, they opposed the ancient rights of our King and the Clergy; to his claims on civil government, the acknowledged rights of the kings of England; to the accidental powers of civilians and canonists, the paramount principles of the common law; and to the dogmas of school-divines, the supreme authority of the scriptures. Wickliffe's Translation, too, of the Bible had, a considerable influence on our language[a].

[a] One of our oldest Saxon (our old English) MSS. of the Gospel, is supposed to be that in the Bodleian at Oxford. It was published by the martyrologist, Fox, in 1571. The venerable Bede, who lived to a great age, and flourished in 731, amidst his other numerous labours, translated the Scriptures into Saxon, and wrote Commentaries on them. Ballarmin. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 25. Abbot Ælfric, as appears by his Facts, written in the Saxon Language, in 950, translated a great part of the Old Testament; (see a curious Saxon Treatise, published by de L'Isle, in 1623) and our excellent King Alfred, as we are told by Fox, translated both the Old and New Testament into his mother-tongue. Rolle translated the Psalter, of which, with several canticles from the Old Testament, there is a copy in Sidney College Library. Wickliffe translated the whole Bible into English. He died in 1384. Mr. Lewis, minister of Margate, published a complete edition of Wickliffe's Translation in 1731.

In the University Library of Cambridge there is a Saxon translation of the Gospels, in MS. prefixed to which is, written in Latin and Saxon, these words: "These books gave Leofric, Bishop of the church of

Wickliffe, being but little acquainted with either Hebrew or Greek, his version was from the Latin, called the Vulgate[a], or Latin manuscripts, somewhat differing from the Vulgate. There are various copies of it in the libraries of Cambridge: two old translations are in Emanuel College library; but only one of them is Wickliffe's; for before, and a little after Wickliffe's time, translations were made of different parts of the scriptures into English; and particularly by Richard Rolle, Hermite of Hampole: these translations are often mistaken for Wickliffe's[b].

St. Peter's, in Exeter, for the use of his successors; and that Leofric died in 1071 or 1073."

[a] This appears in what regards the first leading doctrine in Matthew's Gospel, Baptism. Had Wickliffe translated from the Greek, he would probably have translated ὁ βαπτιστης, the Baptist, as our translation does: but finding Joannes Baptistes in the Vulgate, he translates it Jon Baptist; so again, finding lavabantur, Matthew iii. 6, in the Latin Vulgate, he translates it, thei weren waischen of hym in Jordan—and I waishe ghou in water. Mr. Robinson, Hist. of Bapt. ch. 11. correctly observes, "The English translators did not translate the word Baptize, and they acted wisely, for there is no word in the English language which is an exact counterpart of the Greek word," for it relates both to the ceremony and the character of the person. This is one of the *ecclesiastical words*, King James ordered to be kept. See Lewis's History of the several Translations, prefixed to his edition of Wickliffe's Translation, ch. v. It is remarkable that the German translation has, ὁ βαπτιστης, der Tauffer; the Dutch, een Dooper, whence ours, Dipper.

[b] It is common, too, to speak of the different copies of Wickliffe's translation, lodged in different libraries, as being penned by him. Thus at St. John's College, Oxford, it is intimated at the beginning of one of Wickliffe's Bibles, though in a different hand from the version itself that it was written by Wickliffe; and certainly Archbishop Laud (who gave the College a fine collection of MSS.) was as likely to pos-

Let us not say, because Dr. Wickliffe was a Professor of Oxford, that his doctrines do not concern Cambridge. His doctrines were soon spread over England; and being so searching, so interesting to theologists, could not fail, we may be sure, to engage seriously this University. The first public documents about Wickliffe prove[a], that his writings were read and publicly taught here: and though we have instances of recantations[b] of Lollardism, and persecutions of some who avowed its more obnoxious doctrines, as we have shewn already, both in the Univer-

sess Wickliffe's own copy as any man; though, to speak freely, from its great elegance, it wears the appearance of having been written rather by a professional scribe, than a laborious student. It has been observed, too, that it is incorrectly dated. In Worcester Cathedral Library is a much smaller copy, and in a different hand from Laud's MS. this also is said to have been Wickliffe's penmanship, together with a copy of the Vulgate, corresponding to it, the copy, it is said, from which Wickliffe translated, and written in the same hand with the translation.

Wickliffe, it will be recollected, had a prebend in Worcester Cathedral. Observations of this kind having fallen in my way are occasionally introduced, as interesting to Bibliographers: but be the matter as it may, Lewis's edition of Wickliffe's Translation of the New Testament, and Chaucer's Works, as published in Harry VIII.'s reign, may be considered as the most valuable specimens we possess of the old English, in its *departure* from the Saxon.

[a] As the following authorities were not quoted before, in the passages alluded to, they are quoted here. Constitutio Archiepiscopi cantuar: ne Libellus sive Tractatus compositus per Johannem Wickliffe, *legatur* vel *doceatur*, in locis quibuscunq. nisi *primitus* approbatus fuerit per alteram Academiam. A. D. 1408. Hare's MS. Index.

[b] Abjuratio Nich. Hereford Artium Bacalaurei de omnibus opinionibus et conclusionibus Joannis Wickliffe coram Cancellario in plena congregatione. A. D. 1412.

sity and neighbourhood [a], still it became intermingled with the literature of the place, and was silently working, in its progress to a more permanent reformation.

[a] Reg. Eliens. Gul. Gray. MSS. as quoted by Mr. Robinson, in a Brief Dissertation on Preaching the Word, p. 54. Pref. to Mons. Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon, Vol. 2.

CHAP. III.

THE REVIVAL OF LITERATURE—ERASMUS, AND OTHER EMINENT MEN, CLASSICAL SCHOLARS.

NEXT we come to the age of classical literature: and here we must begin with Erasmus Roterodamus. This learned man was contemporary with Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Master of Queen's College, and Chancellor of the University in 1504. At his invitation, Erasmus came to Cambridge, and resided there about seven years, being the first who taught Greek publicly in the University. Some of its best scholars were proud to become his disciples, and Fisher himself was prevented only by age from being of the number.

Erasmus took the degrees of B. D. as *incipient in Theology*, 1506[a]; and in 1510 was made Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. He wrote upon all subjects, and in all styles, but always in Latin, and always well; his powers of composition being proportioned to the vast

[a] Concessa erat hoc anno, 1506, D. Erasmo Roterodamo facultas incipiendi in Theologia, Cantebrigiæ: Archbishop Parker's Acad. Cantab. Hist. p. 47; and the same in Dr. Richardson's List of Graduates, which is in the possession of the University Registrar, where Erasmus's name appears for only one degree. I am thus particular, because I have seen Erasmus's name put down as graduating in another year, and because it is stated very indeterminately by Dr. Fuller, History of Cambridge, p. 87.

riches and variety of his knowledge. With the minuteness of a grammarian, the sagacity of a critic, the subtlety of a metaphysician, and the precision of a logician, he combined the eloquence of a rhetorician, the solemnity of a theologian, the profundity of a philosopher, and the gaiety, and the ease, and playfulness of a poet: for all these different qualities he may be justly praised: but his principal force was in irony, in which he cannot be surpassed, perhaps, is not equalled. This machine, supported with his more weighty artillery of solid literature, he played off with admirable effect against the follies, the vices, the superstitions, and ignorance of his age: for having translated some of Lucian's Dialogues, he had caught much of his manner, of which his *Colloquies*, his *Praise of Folly*, and *Letters on Epistolary Writing*, are admirable specimens. In his Adagia, written more immediately for the use of the English nation, are deposited great treasures of classical literature. He edited many of the Greek and Latin classics, with some of the Fathers: but his more splendid, elaborate works, are Pliny's Natural History, Aristotle's Works, and an edition of the Greek Testament; and to all of which he has admirable prefaces: the latter was accompanied with a new Latin Translation and Notes. His Commentary, translated into English, was appointed by public authority to be placed in all our churches. In his Treatise on Epistolary Writing, he not only delivers general rules for epistolary composition, but a most rational plan for acquiring the learned languages: hastily sent forth, as it was, it yet reached many important points. In an Epistle to Nicholas Beraldus, he says, it was written in twenty days; and that, in consequence of the treachery of a friend, who published it without his

consent, he gave an edition himself: but had it been the labour of as many weeks, or months, it would have been labour well bestowed[a].

Erasmus's works make ten volumes in folio, and were edited by Le Clerc: whence it appears, though he was unacquainted with Hebrew, and never acquired a thorough knowledge of the English language, he may be pronounced the greatest genius, and the profoundest scholar, of his age, not less successful, than indefatigable, in his studies. He was an advocate for free-will against predestination. Obnoxious as he was to some of the Reformers, for his book de Servo Arbitrio, against Luther, whom he treated somewhat sharply, still his literary authority was appealed to by all parties. He lived at large, for he would be shackled by no theologues; and while some objected to him his conformity, he knew he had to do with men, though Reformers, who were politicians and conformists in various ways themselves[b]: against their bigotry and intolerance he was as serious as they could be against his temporizing, and love of literary ease. After all, he did more in the cause of real reformation[c], than any man of his age, and carried its spirit up to some points, where no one durst follow him. But to close all,

a Erasmus's Letter relating to this work is dated Basil, 1522. It is prefixed to the edition, Lugduni, 1530. But there was a much earlier edition printed at Cambridge.

b See John Milton's five Tracts, in his Prose Works. Milton does not except Cranmer, Ridley, nor Latimer from this number. Erasmus's principles went to the root, even to customs and corruptions, which pervaded all nations.

c What is here alluded to may be seen in Erasmus's, Conscribendarum Epistolarum Ratio.

and to say what is immediately to our purpose, in the wise and critical use of ancient manuscripts, in liberalizing our universities[a], and in breaking the long-riveted shackles of their superstitions and ignorance, by writing, no one did so much as this great man—and as to other matters—

Homo fuit atq. humanus Erasmus.

Edward Crooke, a native of London, succeeded Erasmus, as Greek Professor, and in 1512, as Public Orator. He was first of King's College. In 1523 he became D. D. and, Greek and Latin literature beginning now to be in great request, he was sent in 1530 to Italy and Venice, to search for MSS. and to plead the cause of Harry VIII. at the same time, by examining the decrees of ancient Councils, relative to the question of that king's marriage. He thence proceeded to Padua, Bononia, and other places. Travelling onward to

[a] I cannot forbear quoting here what a learned writer says of Erasmus, in reference to our universities. Hoc θεοπεμπτον viri incomparabilis beneficium aurea propemodum actas (si literas, quæ ab humanitate celebrantur, spectes) secuta est. Linguis enim et optimis artibus, quasi postliminio, restitutis, barbaries ex Europæis Academiis magnâ ex parte profligata est, et ex sacris istis virtutum et doctrinarum Gymnasiis, tanquam Trojano, quod aiunt equo, subito in philologiæ proscenium progressi sunt ingenio, eloquentia, et doctrinæ liberalis ingenuæq. cognitione celeberrimi viri, qui Erasmi, velut Εργοδιωκτης exemplo et institutione moti, suam singuli Spartam exornare, doctrinæq. Lampada, non modo in Philologiæ studio aliis præferre, sed etiam studio vigilantiaq. suâ egregie illustratam posteris tradere studuerunt. Grynæi Epist. Nuncupatoria in Erasmi Adagia, &c. Another, while characterizing some of Erasmus's particular works, wracks his invention to illustrate them, not knowing how to panegyrize them enough. Budæi Epist. inter Erasmianas, Lib. 2. Epistolarum.

Rome; to gain access to libraries, he endeavoured to become penitentiary priest[a]. His letters sent thence to England are in the Cottonian Library. Crooke used to value himself for never having changed his religion, and said, that changing his religion made Leland go mad. He died much respected by the University, in 1550, and is the author of several pieces, relating to classical literature.

Anthony Wood says[b], that Greek was first taught at Oxford; a point, indeed, of no great consequence—it was taught at both places, nearly about the same time—but, from a passage in Crooke's Oration to the University of Cambridge[c], it appears it was first taught there, and Crooke could not be mistaken, having resided a considerable time at Cambridge, and afterwards removing to Oxford..

Other eminent men, of this period, did much, in succession, towards laying a proper foundation for classical literature, particularly Smith, Cheke, Ascham, and Winterton. In settling this, the proper pronunciation of the Greek language was considered the corner-stone: it was, accordingly, made a controversy of prime consideration. The Protestant party, the advocates of the Newe Larninge, aiming to give to every consonant, vowel, and dipthong, a distinct, yet varied sound; the opposers of it making many of the vowels and dip-

[a] Hacket, and Cole's MS. Catal. of King's College, in Cole's MSS. Vol. xiii. in the Brit. Museum.

[b] Athenæ Oxonienses.

[c] The passage is at length in Mr. Cole's MSS. Catalogue, &c. of King's. The Oration is entitled, De Græcarum Disciplinarum Laudib...

thongs, though of different characters, give the same sound, after the manner of the modern Greeks[a].

Sir Thomas Smith had been Fellow of Queen's College, and King's Greek Professor; the favourite of the Duke of Somerset; and, at length, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Cheke was Fellow of King's, and succeeded Smith in the Greek Professorship[b]. During Mary's reign, Bishop Gardiner being

[a] Thus, for example, the old larning (according to the *modern* Greek) would pronounce, Τι μοι λεγεις, Κυριε (Ty moi legels, Kurie, as we now pronounce it, after Smith and Cheke) Τι με λεγις κιριε, that is, Τε μεε legees, Κεριε; ι, οι, ει, υ, ε, having, according to the old larninge and the modern Greek, the same sound. A fine modern Greek poem, entitled, Ο Ξενος μ. την Ρουμελην, The Stranger to Roumele (the modern Greek appellative for Greece) may be seen in Voyage de Dimo et Nicolo Stephanopoli en Greece pendant les années, 1797, 1798. R' imprimé a Londres. 1800. Tom. ii. p. 71: and a Grammar of the modern Greek, at the end of Du Cange's Greek Glossary.

Dr. Winterton, in his Notes on Hesiod (particularly on Ver. 2. Lib. 1. oper. & dierum) has shewn, by examples, ex Editione Aldinâ Evangeliorum, A. 1518. et Editione Hesiodi-Trincavelianâ, A. 1537, what numerous faults have crept into the different texts, first from readers, and afterwards from copyists, who did not properly distinguish the difference of character amidst a sameness of pronunciation.

[b] Lloyd, in his *Statesmen* and *Favourites* of England, p. 160, thus characterizes Cheke and Ascham: "The same day was he and Ascham admitted to Saint John's, and the same week to court; the one to the tuition of Edw. VI. the other of Queen Elizabeth. There they were happy, in their master Metcalf, who, though he could not (as Themistocles said) *fiddle*, yet he could make a little college a great one, and breed scholars, though he was none: his advice deterred them from the rough learning of the modern schoolmen, and their own genius led them to the more polite studies of the ancient orators and historians; wherein they profited so well, that the one was the copious orator, the other the Greek Professor of the University."

awhile Chancellor, could of course settle controversies. Smith might, indeed, be in possession of argument,—and he thought his argument was good—but Gardiner possessed power, the *royal* way of settling controversies[a]. This memorable dispute, however, was, after all, settled, so far as public practice goes, against Gardiner, after the death of Mary, by the two famous treatises[b], written by Smith and Cheke. Roger Ascham

[a] Gardiner, while Chancellor, being an enemy to the Newe Larninge, put out a singular order, from which the following extract is made.

Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos literis, sive Græcis, sive Latinis, ab usu publico præsentis sæculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.

Dipthongos Græcas nedum Latinas, nisi ad diæresis exigat, sono distinguito. Tantum in orthographia discrimen servato, uno eodemq. sono exprimito.

Ne multa—in sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utimini præsentibus. The passage may be seen more at large in Baker's Reflections on Learning, p. 29.

[b] One entitled De Ling. Græc. Pronunciatione, 1568; the other Disputatio cum Stephano Wintonton.—Sir Thomas, who was one of the best statesmen and politicians of his age, wrote also a much-admired work on the Commonwealth of England, and *an exact Commentary of Matters*, worthy, as Camden expresses it, *to be* published. Lloyd's Statesmen, &c. p. 370.

No one is spoken of more highly among the Revivers of Learning, and the friends of the Reformation in Edw. VI.'s reign, than Cheke: at his suggestion, the young monarch drew up that memorable Diary, the original MS. of which is in the British Museum, and which is copied into the Appendix of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. Mr. Lewis (Pref. to Wickliffe's Translation, &c.) says, "there is in Bene't College Library an English Translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, by Cheke, though it was not received into any of the public versions;" and (hisce oculis vidi) there is in the same library a recantation of the principles of the Reformation, that, in Mary's reign, was delivered to Cardinal Pole, and written and signed by Cheke.—The reigns of the

called these two learned men, "The Stars of the University, who brought Aristotle, Plato, and Demosthenes, to flourish as notably at Cambridge, as ever they did in Greece."

Radulph Winterton was a physician of Cambridge. He edited the Aphorisms of Hippocrates; and if one may judge, from the immense crowd of complimentary verses in Greek and Latin, prefixed to the edition (after the manner indeed of those times) as a physician he was superior to Hippocrates himself. But be that as it may, Dr. Winterton was distinguished in the annals of Greek literature, at the time, and took an active part on the side of Smith and Cheke in the controversy on the Greek Pronunciation, and is still known by his edition of the Minor Greek Poets.

As to Roger Ascham, he was Fellow of St. John's, and University Orator, a zealous promoter of the new learning at Cambridge, and a humourist: having been pupil to Cheke, and Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth, he used to say, that he had been pupil to the "greatest scholar, and was Preceptor to the greatest pupil, in England."

All the above followed Erasmus both in his method of pronouncing, as well as teaching, the Greek and Latin languages; as may be seen by comparing together Erasmus's Book on Epistolary Writing, with their books already referred to, together with Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster*[a], the most famous of all his works.

four Tudors were reigns of religious accommodations and crooked politics,—as to Cheke's Recantation—I must repeat it—His oculis vidi.

[a] This work, though left unfinished, and now and then a little prattling, possesses great merit. It was printed in 1579. Many have silently

As to the right pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages, much might be said on that subject; and there was a Cambridge doctor who opposed the new learning at the time, not by authority, but argument; and much of argument his book contains: let it suffice, just to have noticed it in this place: it was written by the learned Dr. Caius, our Cambridge antiquary and historian[a], with whom we often shake hands, and from whom we sometimes differ.

drank at Erasmus's and Ascham's springs, without due acknowledgments. But well had it been for the public schools, if the masters had mended their draught, and grown wise by the doctrine. I more particularly allude to Erasmus's and Ascham's mode of instruction, and throwing aside the odious corporal punishments, from the *discipline* of literature.

[a] Joannis Caii Angli, de Pronunciatione Græc. & Lat. Linguæ, &c. Inter Opuscula, p. 211.

CHAP. IV.

PROGRESS OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE.—BENTLEY.—PORSON, &c.

ENOUGH of the revival of literature in our University; we must speak of its progress, the period of grammatical research naturally bringing after it that of a more liberal criticism: for besides its grammatical precisions, criticism embraces its departments, philosophical, historical or explanatory, emendatory or corrective [a].

Philosophical criticism is that which is seen in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Demetrius Phalaieus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Longinus, among the Greeks; of Varro, Cicero, and Quintilian, among the Romans: explanatory and corrective criticism, though it does not debar the philosophical, is, almost exclusively, the province of the moderns; and for obvious reasons: when literature revived, after the corrup-

[a] See the limits of these departments of criticism, as distinctly marked out by Mr. Harris, in his Philological Essays, part i. chap. 1, 2, 3. This division is more ample than that made by Le Clerc, Ars. Crit. lib. 1.; and combines in it more of the principles of Plato, still more of Aristotle, according to his Treatises on Poetry and Rhetoric; of the latter, Mr. Harris justly remarks, "The criticism, which this capital writer taught, has so intimate a correspondence and alliance with *philosophy*, that we call it by no other name, than philosophical criticism." I have enlarged on the above distinctions in the second volume of my Poetics, being Disquisitions on Poetry.

tions of the dark ages, having been contaminated, it was expedient it should be purified, by all the means which ingenuity could devise, or which could be furnished by ancient MSS.; to say, therefore, that Cambridge has excelled, rather, in historical and emendatory, than philosophical criticism, would be only saying, she has followed the order of literature.

So, not to contend nicely about the superiority of numbers, or metaphysical distinctions, if neighbouring universities can boast their Stephanus and Scaliger; their Casaubon, Muretus, and Heinsius; their Grotius, Le Clerc, and Witsius, together with their Michaelis, Semler, Reiskes, Wetstein, and Greisbach; Cambridge can produce its Stanley and Gataker[a]; its Bentley and Barnes[b]; its Markland[c], Dawes[d], Davis[e], and

[a] Stanley published an edition of Æschylus's Tragedies, Greek and Latin, 1663; and, also, Prælectiones in Theophrasti Characteras, &c. No less a man than Le Clerc, thought Stanley's History of Oriental Philosophy worth translating into Latin.

Gataker published an edition of Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, Greek and Latin; Cantab. 1652; and engaged with some others in a critical work on the New Testament.

[b] Those departments of Criticism, in which Bentley excelled, the discovering of spurious writings, and the detecting of errors, requires great literature, but is attended sometimes with but little philosophy, it may have more of *pure erudition*, with less of profound, liberal thought. Nulla quoq. ars præter criticam docet, qua ratione supposititia monumenta dignoscantur, et loca veterum instrumentorum fraude, vel inscitia corrupta, restituantur atq. hi duo posteriores *usus criticæ proprii*, priores habet communes, habet cum aliis disciplinis. Le Clerc, Ars Crit.

Joshua Barnes was editor of Homer, Euripides, Anacreon, &c.

[c] Jeremiah Markland was editor of Statius, parts of Euripides, and Epistola Familiaris, &c.

[d] Dawes wrote the Miscellanea Critica.

[e] Davis edited Cicero's Philosophical Works, &c. published at different periods.

Pearce[a]; its Jortin, together with its Hurd and its Bryant; its Porson, Wakefield, and Horne Tooke: not to mention its Clarke, who has turned his theology into criticism; and its Bacon, who has carried his philosophy, not only into criticism, but into every department of literature.

A certain foreign critic, on reviewing the *fac simile* of the celebrated MS. in our public library, has, I think, past some censure on the Cambridge latinity: and some Cambridge wag thought himself justified in making reprisals, by a satirical distich on the German Greek literature. But such squibs, whether thrown about at Leipsic or Cambridge, only whiz on the spot—they are but squibs after all, without meaning or force[b].

Such foreigner, however, could not but be aware that Cambridge critics were more forward to censure the work alluded to, than even the Germans themselves. For though, as a fac simile, it was not materially defective, and the prefatory account of the MS. itself, was, on the whole, considered satisfactory, yet the latinity no one approved. It should be whispered, too, in the ears of German critics, that, in the opinion of the Cambridge literati, their latinity labours with obscurity, and is liable to great intricacies and involutions: one of our most industrious modern critics never valued himself on his Latin composition: he felt and acknowledged his own defects. But our late Greek professor's style is neat and full; if it has not all the rotundity of an orator, it pre-eminently possesses that of his profession of a classical, close critic.

[a] Pearce, afterwards bishop of Rochester, edited Cicero de Officiis, and De Oratore, with Longinus de sublimitate.

[b] See Remarks on Dr. Kipling's Fac Simile of the Beza MS. by Thomas Edwards, D.D.

Emendatory criticism has two great resources, one in conjecture, the other in an acquaintance with ancient manuscripts. And of this species, if Cambridge has not had a redundancy, it has, at least, had a liberal share. Joshua Barnes was a man of much reading, and, for his day, a useful writer; (though every one will be ready with the felicis memoriæ, expectans judicium,) but he put forth no great powers of criticism, and wasted his time in Anacreontics[a] and Homerics.

Bentley, and his admirer, Wakefield, were great adepts in conjectural criticism; a species of criticism, it must be acknowledged, by which the greater reading, and the more ingenuity a man may possess, the more liable he may be, sometimes to err. For as corresponding passages spring up in abundance to his recollection, he innovates with too much security and confidence; and with a genius to improve, he may, too rashly, assert the right. The reader may judge of the tendency of this learned ingenuity, by Bentley's edition of Milton's Paradise Lost, the faults of which have been ably exposed by bishop Pearce[b]. Wakefield's Silva Critica affords, as he acknowledged, indeed,

[a] Perhaps, had Barnes not overlooked the market, with his Greek verses, there might have been a demand for some of the abundance now reposing in MS. For there it lies, in Emmanuel library, together with a great part of a Latin-Greek Lexicon, also in MS. But Barnes had a knack of throwing every thing into Greek verse, whether David's Psalms, or,

> Three blue beans in a blue bladder,
> Rattle, rattle, rattle;

or, lines on the arms over the poor Lion, at the entrance of Emmanuel College; both of which he threw into extemporaneous Greek verse.

[b] A Review of the twelve books of Paradise Lost, &c. 1733. It is anonymous; but known to be bishop Pearce's.

himself[a], examples of similar aberrations. At the same time, this varied reading, this bold ingenuity, this talent for improving, often led Bentley to make emendations, probably just, and to expose writings demonstratively spurious[b]. Nor is Wakefield's criticism always thrown away. For though an alteration may be wrong, the remark may be right, neither do poets, nor writers of prose, always say the *best* things, nor in the best manner: but to correct down one author's style by another may enfeeble the most significant passages, and destroy all originality[c]. Wakefield, (after all,) in his edition of Gray[d], proves himself, also, a critic of taste, a more certain, standing character, than a critic of conjecture.

Markland and Davies, Pearce and Porson, took the cautious way, of doubting their own skill, and of deliberating over MSS.; the more safe, more judicious, and generally more convincing, for critics, engaged in the correction of ancient authors: yet, as critics of the former class are tempted to be over hasty, those of the latter are no less of being too backward, and too sparing of their knowledge. They seldom make, but often leave, difficulties: having ascertained a reading by some canon of criticism, or settled a metre by ancient MSS. (for which the learned are un-

a Prefat. ad Lucretium.

b Bentley's Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle, first published in 1697. Mr. Richard Porson's learned Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, published in 1790, ranks in the same class of criticism.

c This idea is well illustrated, and enlarged on, by Bishop Hurd, *on Poetical Imitation*.

d Nor less in his Noctes Carcerianæ, 1801. His TRAGŒDIARUM DELECTUS, 1794, is an example of that branch of criticism in which Mr. Wakefield particularly excelled, apt illustration from parallel passages.

doubtedly very thankful,) they leave off, as if their work was done; not condescending to consider, that in works, professedly *in usum*[a] *juventutis*—to borrow the words of an intelligent and learned person, when speaking on this subject—that many *old boys* would endure a little more explanation. But this closeness of criticism is generally in company with much erudition; nor is it always pride, but sometimes judgment and modesty, which keeps men from too much talking.

Such writers as Jortin, Bryant, Hurd, and Tooke, would, perhaps, come somewhat more under the character of philosophical critics. But I have already exceeded bounds.

The above, then, are a few of those critics whom alma mater is proud to acknowledge: and though they have oc casionally rapped each other's knuckles, (as critics and theologians are wont to do,) foreign critics have been willing to give to each his proper crown,

Laurea donandus Apollinari.

HORACE.

I, therefore, wish alma mater all joy with these her luminaries in criticism, not unmindful of the stimulus of one of our old Greek professors;

Αλλ' εμπης οσσους κεν αριθμησω τε και ειπω
Τουτων ουνομ' εκαστοι αειρετε, ως και εοικεν.

Joshua Barnes, his Epilogue to Homer.

Such names as I have humbly aimed to shew,
Do you in nobler numbers teach to flow.

---

[a] Hecuba, Phœnissæ, Orestes, ad Fidem MSS. emendata et brevibus notis, emendationum potissimum rationes reddentibus instructa; in *usum studiosæ juventutis*; edidit Ricardus Porson, A.M. &c. These are considered as a standard for the text of Euripides.

CHAP. VI.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

WE next proceed to Hebrew and Rabbinical-Eastern literature. Here we must not claim pre-eminence—as in some other points our alma mater certainly may. We are surpassed by some foreign universities; which are not only distinguished by such names as Munster, Buxtorf, father and son, Capel, Erpenius, Golius, Ludolph, and Altingius, with Bythner, Fabricius, and Schultens, but by more systematic arrangements, and more regular provisions, for the study and advancement of the Oriental languages.

Of our two sister Universities, also, Oxford, I suspect, must here take the lead. Pococke, Shaw, Hyde, Kennicot, Lowth, and Sir William Jones, were all Oxonians: nor will the Eastern MSS. in the Bodleian library submit to be compared with those at Cambridge, surpassing, indeed, as they do, those in any library of Europe; nor will the eastern books printed at the Clarendon press, with those that issue from the Cambridge, either for number or magnificence. And as there are greater stores already deposited at Oxford, so are there more liberal funds for increasing them [a].

[a] It will be in place to observe here, how properly bishop Lowth has connected Hebrew exercitations with his poetical lectures delivered at Oxford: Quandoquidem, says he, ipsa etiam academia, cum hanc nobis disciplinam decreto suo confirmaret, poeticæ studium eo præcipue nomine

But if alma mater cannot claim pre-eminence in this department of literature, she can boast her eminent men. Hugh Broughton [a], translator of Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Job, in Elizabeth's reign—and eastern literature had not been much attended to long before [b]—was

commendavit, quod ad severioris disciplinæ tam sacræ quam humanæ incrementa conducat, &c. Statutum de Poeticâ Lecturâ. Vid. Lowth de Sacrâ Hebræorum Poesi. Prelect. 2.

[a] There is some account of Hugh Broughton, not, indeed, by one of his admirers, in Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, and of his Translations in Lewis's Preface to his edition of Wickliffe's Translation of the New Testament, p. 76, &c.

[b] Tyndal and Joye, (the latter fellow of Peter House,) translated from the original Hebrew; but Coverdale from Latin and Dutch versions. Matthew's Bible was made up of Tyndal's and Coverdale's translation. Nor was there any translation immediately from the Hebrew, but Tyndal's, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Erasmus himself, who did so much by his Latin translation of the New Testament from the Greek, knew, as already observed, little or nothing of Hebrew.

With respect to the BISHOP'S BIBLE, as it is called, of queen Elizabeth's reign, when Hudibras says, its aim was,

— t'adapt a new translation
To this new faith they taught the nation;

he is, at least, in part mistaken; it being not a *new* translation, but a revision of the old. The parts newly translated from the original Hebrew, by Broughton, were published at London in 1596, 1605, and 1606; and dedicated to her majesty's most honourable privy council: the comment on Ecclesiastes, and the Lamentations of Jeremy, to prince Henry.

Elmer, Bishop of London, whom Broughton said was the best Hebrician of the bishops, prompted him to undertake a new translation of the whole Bible, and the queen ordered Sir Francis Walsingham to desire him to consider of it: and it seems Broughton did: but he had reasons for residing abroad, and the plan was never realized. In James's reign he offered his services, to unite with other learned men, in the new translation of the Bible. But, on account of the contempt with which he treated the old translation, and the bishops who had engaged in it, his services were not accepted.

deeply acquainted with Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. It is sufficient to mention Walton, the editor of the Polyglot Bible, in six volumes, folio, 1650, and Lightfoot, the author of Horæ Biblicæ.

Dr. Chaderton, the first master of Emmanuel College, one of the translators of King James's Bible, and Dr. Spencer, master of Bene't, author of a famous work on the Hebrew Laws, with Robert Ainsworth, a Puritan, who translated the Pentateuch from the Hebrew, were all distinguished Hebricians: so, also, were John Smith, and Joseph Mede, to the latter of whom is geneally annexed some word expressive of his celebrity. Than these two persons[a], the former tutor of Queen's, the latter of Christ's College, few men possessed more various learning, or have displayed in their writings so much Hebrew and Rabbinical knowledge. Simon Ockley, author of a valuable History[b] of the Saracens, was very conversant on Arabic MSS. And, in more modern time, Mr. Green, formerly fellow of Clare Hall, very successfully gave a new translation of the poetical parts of the Old Testament.

Let us not, however, say, from too filial fondness, and petty partialities,

> For Hebrew roots are always found
> To flourish best on barren ground.
>
> HUDIBRAS.

lest some German, or Oxford wag should furnish a different reading, though neither Dr. Grey, nor Dr. Nash may[c].

[a] I shall speak more largely of this writer in another place.

[b] Entitled, The Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Ægypt, by the Saracens. The first volume was published in 1708; nine years afterwards was printed a second volume.

[c] Two Editors of Hudibras.

The plain truth, is, there exist at Cambridge no importunate solicitations, and few inducements for the study of this branch of letters. The royal Hebrew professorship is but an inconsiderable endowment, 40*l.* a year; nor is the Arabic professorship more. They are sinecures, and obtain from alma mater, neither her *lucem* nor her *pocula sacra*; they enter not into her course of lecturing in colleges [a], nor are Hebrew professorships in colleges heard of now [b]. They form no part in public examination for degrees; and no prizes are held out to occasional proficients: so that all excellence in this department has flowed from the honest zeal, and unbiassed industry of private individuals.

Nor is it necessary to make any exception for the case of the gentlemen employed in King James's translation of the Bible. They were, indeed, entertained in the different colleges, to consult and compare notes together; and provided for afterwards: but this was a temporary matter; and the reward unconnected with the University.

It is, however, by no means insinuated, that our libraries are unfurnished,—they are amply furnished—with materials for these studies: to say nothing of the printed books, let us not omit to notice, there are many very valuable Hebrew and other oriental MSS. at Cambridge; two of the most ancient are in the University and Caius Col-

[a] It should, however, be added, that in some colleges, the examination for fellowships takes in a little Hebrew; but how little will do, it is unnecessary to say.

[b] In the Life of Joseph Mede, by Dr. Worthington, mention is made of a *Hebrew professorship*, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay, in Christ College, and other things called *professorships*, may have been founded in other colleges; but they were only a sort of private lectures, and, I believe, are now dormant.

lege libraries; a very fine MS. Hebrew Bible is in Emmanuel, as well as several Arabian, and Persian, with their titles, and appropriate history, by Sir William Jones. Caius College possesses several Eastern MSS. as does, also, Jesus; and dispersed in different libraries are others. The Eastern collection in the public library was enriched by a fine cabinet of oriental MSS., given by Dr. George Lewis, and has been lately increased by Dr. Buchanan, with many curious books and MSS. in the different languages of the East Indies: a correct catalogue is now finished of all the Eastern MSS. in the University library.

CHAP. VII.

THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THIS, perhaps, might be the place for considering theological literature: but, however interesting, it would introduce more controversy, and must be more multifarious than suits our brevity: besides, theological matters will be occasionally interspersed throughout this history, and in some measure, have been anticipated already,—the less, therefore, need be introduced here; the leading theological doctrines, on which the Reformation of the sixteenth century turned, being the same as those taught by Wickliffe, in the fourteenth. These doctrines being those afterwards maintained by Calvin, in his INSTITUTIONS, concerning "the knowledge of God the Creator," and "the knowledge of God the Redeemer[a]," have been since called Calvinistic. For though Calvin's INSTITUTIONS contains but little new, yet, being a judicious compilation of St. Augustine's works, so far as the doctrines of Grace, Faith, Justification, Sanctification, and Predestination go, these several points were called after him Calvinism. He became the great doctor of his age. O le grand homme!

[a] Institutiones, &c. lib. 1 and 2. De cognitione Dei Creatoris, et cognitione Dei Redemptoris. It should be observed, that Erasmus differed from Calvin's doctrines, of Justifying Faith, Free Will, and Predestination. Calvin's doctrines further comprehended, the three divine Persons (Hypostases) in one God, which was also the received doctrine of the Church of England.

Il n'y a ancien a comparer a lui. Il a si bien entendu l'escriture. SOLUS CALVINUS IN THEOLOGICIS[a]: exclaims, even Joseph Scaliger.

Whether Calvin was so great or good a man, as it was the fashion of the times to consider him, making no part of our enquiry, it is not necessary to deliver an explicit opinion[b]: suffice it, that the doctrines maintained by him were those taught in England as the doctrines of the Reformation; and, of course, were the theological doctrines of the University of Cambridge.

The Reformed, at first, or the *pretended* reformed, as

[a] Scaligerana; as quoted by Mr. Robinson, in Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon, vol. ii. p. 232.

[b] Calvin's Institutions is a well written book: but the insolence with which he uniformly treats his opponents, will now be only thought of with contempt—his bitterness towards Servetus always with horror: the best language he can find for those who differed with him, is, stulti, heretici, nebulones, bestiæ, canes, et diaboli. In his Commentaries on the New Testament, speaking of Servetus, he calls him Spanish dog, Canis Hispanus; and again, Institut. l. 2. c. 9. s. 3, speaking of Servetus's notion of the Holy Spirit, he has, Cujus authoritas compescere apud nos debet *latratus omnes impuri illius canis.* That *he caused* Servetus to be burnt alive, and employed as much treachery as cruelty in the business, cannot be denied, even by those disposed to be candid towards Calvin, as was Jaques George de Chaufepie, in his Life of Servetus, being an article in his Historical Dictionary, vol. iv. Whether Servetus would have burnt Calvin is more than I can say; from the conclusion to his book De Trino Dei, some might have a doubt on the subject; but "the death of Davides remains a blot in the character of Socinus." Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 620. Burning for religious opinions, since the writ, *de heretico comburendo*, in Henry IV.'s reign, was the fashion of the times. While Geneva was burning Servetus for believing too little of a Trinity, the state of Bern was burning another poor man for believing too much, for being a tritheist. We were not behind hand in England: at the Reformation we burnt Arians, Baptists, and Freewillers. —Horresco referens—but these times are past.

the French Catholics used to call them, almost all favoured the doctrines of Calvin, and prided themselves in having as good a uniformity as the Church of Rome itself, that had taunted them with having no regular, uniform belief. They accordingly published a *Concord of Faith*, a Corpus Confessionum[a]: these be all Calvinistic, and the confession of the Church of England being one among them, it follows, that the Church of England was, at the time, Calvinistic. To this may be added, what Mr. Collins says, and with truth, *in a discourse of freethinking*, "that our priests, for many years after the Reformation, were generally Calvinists or Predestinarians, is evident from the Bibles printed in queen Elizabeth's time, to which are often added an apology for predestination, answering the common objections of Atheists, Deists, Socinians, and Libertines, against the saving doctrine of the Gospel: from the suffrage of the divines of Great Britain, delivered by them to the Synod of Dort, March 16, 1619, as the sense of the Church of England; where the five points, as they are called, are all determined on the Calvinistical side, agreeably to the decisions of the holy Synod; and lastly, from all their books, to the time of bishop Laud[b]." The writers differed about Episcopacy and Presbyterianism; but, in general, they agreed about Predestination.

That this was the doctrine taught at Cambridge, appears, not only from the general tenor of the writings of their divines, at the Reformation, but more particularly

[a] Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. chap. 2. 26, 27. Introduct. and vol. ii. The several confessions of the different churches may be seen in this work.

[b] A Discourse on Freethinking, &c. p. 66.

from the decisions in particular controversies[a], that were afterwards agitated in the University, and from several letters among the English MSS. in the public library, written at the time of the Reformation, at Cambridge; among which might be noticed those of Bradford, the martyr, Cranmer, and Ridley, all of whom were of Cambridge, and all of whose writings breathe Calvinism. Indeed, at the time alluded to, Freewillers were persecuted as heretics.

From the time of Archbishop Laud, in the reign of James I. the theology of our universities took an Arminian turn. There is no evidence, indeed, that James himself ever made a formal renunciation of his Calvinistic creed[b]; but it was his interest to elevate the Arminians: so Arminianism gained ascendancy at Cambridge; and continued to do so through successive reigns: but, further, whoever peruses the above Discourse on Freethinking, by Mr. Collins, and Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiston[c], written by himself, (both men of learning themselves, and of Cambridge,) will see abundant proof, that, be the public creed in an university what it may, men of learning will often choose to have a creed of their own; and that philosophy and mathematics have a tendency to swerve from strict Orthodoxy. Nothing is more certain, than that many of the learned men of Cambridge have not shaped their conceptions to the creeds of

[a] As that between Dr. Chaderton and Dr. Baro, on justifying Faith, and Mr. Barrett's Recantation, before the Consistory of the Doctors, already noticed. See Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 145—150.

[b] In the famous conference at Hampton Court, he speaks agreeably to what is called, *moderate Calvinism.*

[c] In three volumes, which contain, also, Memoirs of several of his learned friends.

either Calvin or Arminius: but the *general* theological literature of the place may be referred to the five points, as they are called, according to the theories of one or other of those doctors. For the last century, Free-will has decidedly triumphed: accordingly, Tillotsons and Sherlocks, &c. became their favourite divines. The writer, who more professedly and clearly stated the five points, according to the system of the Arminians, or Free-willers, is Dr. Whitby, who flourished in the middle of the last century: and this must suffice for the Theological Literature of Cambridge.

CHAP. VIII.

AGE OF SCIENCE — PHILOSOPHY — BACON, AND OTHERS.

WE must now speak of Science: for the period from Erasmus to Bacon, may be called the age of literature; that from Bacon to Newton, of science and philosophy. And Cambridge feels a pride in ranking both Bacon and Newton among her sons.

Bacon has been called the restorer of science, by raising it on a broader basis, and, in contradistinction to the ages which preceded him in this country, by deducing it from experience and observation, rather than uncertain rules and precarious ratiocinations. He was of Trinity College. He, at length, rose to be Lord Chancellor of England: but, from his childhood, was so generally conversant in books, and of such comprehensive intellect, that queen Elizabeth, to whom he was known through his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, used to call him, when but seven years of age, her young lord keeper.

Sir Nicholas is well described by one, who had well studied the characters of queen Elizabeth's ministers, as "an arch piece of wit and wisdom; as a gentleman and a man of law; and of great knowledge therein, whereby, together with his other parts of dexterity and learning, he was promoted to be keeper of the great seal;" such, too,

was the literary character, and such the political progress of the son[a]; and both were of Cambridge.

Lord Bacon's aim was to point the readiest way to universal knowledge; to shew how, what the ancients had done, might be rendered more perfect; and the human mind directed to new discoveries[b]. With these views he published, in 1605, his two books on the Advancement of Learning, and dedicated them to James I. But the aim of this extraordinary performance[c] is best described in his own language. "I have taken," says he, in a letter to lord treasurer Burleigh, "all knowledge for my province, and if I purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof, the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments, and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries, the best state of that province." A few years afterwards he sent these letters to Dr. Playfair, Lady Margaret's professor, to be translated into Latin: but herein he was not so successful, at first, as King James: Bacon not liking the specimen returned him of Playfair's Latinity. They were, however, translated afterwards by other hands.

In the year 1629, he published his INSTAURATIO MAGNA, called Novum Organon, a title taken from his great

a Observations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Francis Bacon, in Lloyd's Statesmen and Favourites of England. P. 287 and 600.

b Visum est enim nobis, etiam in iis quæ recepta sunt, nonnullam facere moram; eo nimirum consilio, ut facilius veteribus perfectio, et novis aditus, detur. Singularum Argumenta ad Augm. Scient.

c A neat little edition of this work was published in 1808, by Mr. Mallet, formerly of Trinity College.

predecessor Aristotle[a], to the materials of whose writings he was greatly indebted, though he raised them on his

[a] Aristotle, in the opinion of every one, was a most extraordinary man; and wrote upon all subjects, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, mechanic questions, physiognomy, morals, politics, and poetry, &c. Diogenes Laertius de Vitis, &c. Philosophorum, Lib. v. p. 323. Edit. Casauboni. 1584: says, there were 40 volumes of his, of the authenticity of which there was no doubt: Α τον Αριθμον ες ηκει τετρακοσιων, τα οσα γε αναμφιλεκτα. Many are lost which one was probably the most valuable of any, πολιτειαι πολεων δυοιν εξηκοντα και εκατον: The Governments of 162 cities. Some Fragments of this work were collected from ancient writers by Isaac Casaubon, and published.

Of metaphysic (μετα των φυσικων), as he terms them, he has treated at large. Of Grammar and Logic, it does not appear that Aristotle treated, as they have since been formed into systems or arts, and taught in the schools. The works of Aristotle, read by the *Scholastics*, at Cambridge, were Latin Translations by the Arabians, incorrectly made, and often crudely wrought into their own theories.

At, and since, the revival of letters, various arts of Logic were published by Ramus, Crellius, Bertius, Hunnaeus, Molineus, and Keckerman, and after them by Burgersdicius. Of these, some profess to follow Aristotle; others, to hold him in contempt: but as Aristotle has not treated distinctly of *method*, the 4th instrument in Logic, and as, probably, the Categories, or Predicaments, were not his, and as he never formed his Treatises into a system, or Art of Logic, we may be often led into mistakes about Aristotle. I say the Categories were probably not Aristotle's, because Diogenes Laertius mentions only one book of Categories, Κατηγοριων; ed. Diog. Laertius, ut sup. p. 317: whereas, the Categories as we now have them, consist of three parts, regularly divided into chapters. Aristotle op. omnia, Vol. i. Edit. Du Vall.

Bacon's Novum Organon may be considered as levelled against all those several arts; but more particularly against the Analytics and Topics of Aristotle, which treat so largely of Syllogisms. It should, however, be observed, that though we are in the habit of speaking of INDUCTION, as Bacon's, that Aristotle also, has Induction; Και τροπον τινα αντικειται η επαγωγη τω συλλογισμω· ο μεν γαρ δια τυ μεσυ το

new foundation, as Locke was greatly indebted to Hobbes's foundation, though he shaped his materials into a different form. Bacon, in a letter to the king, says, of his Novum Organon, "I hear my former book, of the Advancement of Learning, is well treated in the Universities here, and the English colleges abroad, and this is the same argument and deeper."

In 1623, he published his famous work, de Augmentis Scientiarum, which, however, can scarcely be called a new book, it being an enlargement of his Advancement of Learning, put into a Latin dress; in the adjusting of which George Herbert, the Cambridge poet, and Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury, gave their assistance: which reminds me, that Bacon's practice was much imitated by Hobbes, some of whose after-works were but enlargements of former experiments.

The literary character of Bacon, and the uses to which his writings have been put at Cambridge, (for his principles have been most successfully followed there,) are admirably expressed by an elegant genius of our sister university: "One of the most extensive and improved geniuses we have had instance of in our own nation, or in any other, was that of Sir Francis Bacon, lord Verulam. This great man, by an extraordinary force of nature, compass of thought, and indefatigable study, had amassed to himself such stores of knowledge as we cannot look upon without amazement. His capacity seemed to have grasped all that was revealed in books before his time; and not satisfied with that, he began to strike out new tracks of science, too many to be travelled over by any one man, in the compass of the longest life. These, therefore, he

ακρον τω τριτω δεικνυσιν· η δε, δια του τριτου το ακρον τω μεσω· Analytica priora. Lib. ii. Cap. 23

could only mark down, like imperfect coastings on maps, or supposed points of lands, to be further discovered and ascertained by the industry of after ages, who should proceed upon his notices or conjectures[a]."

Bacon's new philosophy deranged the old, which, in truth, at least as it had been long taught in the schools, was putting the cart before the horse, and has occasioned Horne Tooke to say, justly, in the sense he there uses the term, "If they give up their doctrine of language, they will not be able to make a battle for their *metaphysics*, the very term *metaphysics* being nonsense; and all the systems of it, and controversies concerning it, that are, or have been in the world, being founded in the grossest ignorance of words, and of the nature of speech[b]."

Bacon's new philosophy, then, aspired to derange the old metaphysics and logic, and with them the old natural philosophy, the subtleties of the former being the foundation of the latter. It, however, left a space open for a more liberal philosophy, founded in the operations of nature, and uniform experience. As far as logic and metaphysics went, that place was filled up by Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding;—his inquiry being, in fact, a guide to *general* metaphysical reasoning, a philosophical analysis of the principles of logic (as some part is of grammar), and founded on the principles of Bacon, as the more sure method of philosophizing[c].

[a] Addison.

[b] Diversions of Purley, vol. i. p. 399. 2d edit.

[c] Bacon gives this account of Syllogism: "Syllogismus ad Principia Scientiarum non adhibetur: ad media Axiomata frustra adhibetur, cum sit subtilitati naturæ longe impar:" and, again, "Syllogismus ex propositionibus constat, propositiones ex verbis, verba notionum Tesseræ sunt; Itaq. si notiones ipsæ (id quod basis rei est) confusæ sint, et

Locke's book being expelled from Oxford, found a more ample reception at Cambridge too, though a Fellow of Emmanuel College ventured to write a sturdy volume[a] against his Essay, it soon became a text book in the University, and the ablest metaphysicians were proud to be its critics and commentators. Hartley[b] was a disciple of Locke's school: his doctrines of the Mechanism of the Human Mind, and of the Association of Ideas, are but an enlargement of Locke's, or rather a deduction from it. His Doctrine of Vibrations is considered more his own[c]; and though Hartley's OBSERVA-

tenere a rebus abstractis, nihil in iis quae superstruuntur, est firmitudinis. Itaq. spes est una in Inductione Vera."

Novum Organon; Lib. i. 13, 14.

Of the two ways of reasoning by Syllogism and Induction, he elsewhere observes, 'At in forma ipsa quoque Inductionis, et judicio quod per eam fit, opus longe maximum movemus. Ea enim de qua Dialectici loquuntur, quae procedit per enumerationem simplicem puerile quiddam est, et precario concludit, et periculo ab instantia contradictoria exponitur, et consueta tantum intuetur, nec exitum reperit. Atqui opus est ad Scientias Inductionis forma tali, quae experientiam solvat, et separet, et per exclusiones ac rejectiones debitas necessario concludat. Quod si judicium illud vulgatum Dialecticorum tam operosum fuerit, et tanta ingenia exercuerit, quanto magis laborandum est in hoc altero, quod non tantum ex Mentis penetralibus, sed etiam ex Naturae visceribus extrahetur?' Bacon, accordingly, gives up Syllogism.

a Anti-Scepticism, or Notes upon each Chapter of Locke's Essay, concerning Human Understanding, in four Books. By Henry Lee, B.D., formerly Fell. of Emmanuel College. 1702.

b Observations on Man. Mr. Hartley was of Jesus College.

c So far only as the English school goes. It was taught by the French philosophers. See Systeme de la Nature par M. Mirabaud. Part. Prem. Chap. 8, 9. Cependant, si nous voulons nous en faire une idée precise, nous trouverons que sentir est cette façon particuliere d'etre remue, propre a certains organes des corps animes, occasionnees par

TIONS has not been made a Lecture-book in our colleges, it has been much read in the University. Dr. Law, late Bishop of Carlisle[a], published in 1777 a fine edition of all Locke's Works, together with a Life and Preface; and the Moral Philosophy of Dr. Paley is fruit of the same tree, though damaged in the gathering.

As Logic (and with it Metaphysics) had been so greatly taught at Cambridge, prior to the Revival of Letters, it may be proper to observe, that the Scholastics considered thought as making no use of a bodily organ, and, indeed, as having no communication with the body. They conceived the soul to be the *place of ideas*, τοπος των ιδεων, and logic, like experimental philosophy, as having *instruments* corresponding to the third operation of the mind, judgment, and with them comparing together those ideas, and making inferences by the assistance of Syllogisms.

The art therefore was supposed by Bacon and Locke to have been exercised in the schools with too many subtleties and fleeting uncertainties, deduced from Aristotle, who, making it consist too much in artificial rules, fell short of the philosophy of the art. Such, indeed, was the authority of this philosopher (an extraordinary man after all), that in logic and metaphysics he for many years entirely swayed the English and Scottish universi-

la presence d' un objet materiel qui agit sur ses organes, dont les mouvmens ou les ebranlemens se transmettent ou cerveau.—Dans l' homme, les nerfs viennent se reunir & se perdre dans le cerveau.—In my POETICS, however, I have stated an objection to the doctrine of VIBRATIONS.

[a] He was Master of Peter House.

ties, as he did those of all Europe, till they came to the Chapter of Ethics, where, having, according to the theology of most of the reformed churches, embraced the doctrine of ORIGINAL SIN, they abandoned the Aristotelian for another standard[a]. Then Bacon came; and with his powerful thoughts, varied reading, and brilliant compositions—and never perhaps in the same man was there a more extraordinary combination, so rich and multiform—and gave irresistible weight to the cause; a philosopher, often too much of a politician, and, in his turn, not to be uniformly admired, nor explicitly followed.

But though Bacon's and Locke's writings proceed upon a larger scale, for the purpose of philosophical inquiry, logic is still incidentally taught in our colleges, and syllogism still followed in our schools. Various books were published on the subject at Oxford; and Burgersdicius was republished at the University press of Cambridge[b]. But perhaps the best system of logic, or, at least, that most favourably now received at Cambridge, is little more than an Abridgment of Locke's

[a] Aristoteles primum quasi fundamentum felicitatis, virtutis, deliberationis bonæ, et electionis, constituit rationem humanam, per se puram, integram, et incorruptam.

Nos itaq. quibus ex agnitâ veritate revelatum est, hominum bene intelligendi, volendi, deliberandi, et agendi facultatem a lapsu primævo penitus destitutam esse, ab Aristotelis sententiâ de felicitatis, virtutum et bonarum actionum fundamento recedere cogimur.

Thesis Philosophica. 1599.

[b] Fr. Burgersdicii Institutionum Logicarum Libri duo were first published at Leyden two or three years after Lord Bacon's Novum Organon, and reprinted at Cambridge in 1668.

Esssay[a]. This must suffice for logic and metaphysics.

But, we must not close this article without noticing the metaphysico-mathematical DEMONSTRATION of the Being and Attributes of God, by Dr. Samuel Clarke. It has obtained many admirers at Cambridge, as a subtle, elaborate performance; but the arguments of it were far from being approved by the Metaphysicians of his age, and were probably not satisfactory to himself. We should remark, that Spinoza and Mirabaud[b] have employed the same arguments to prove the eternal existence, &c. of matter, which Doctor Clarke applies to spirit; and, in short, Dr. Law has shewn, that the subject is not capable of Dr. Clarke's sort of reasoning, from cause to effect (the a priori argument, as it is called), but only from effect to cause (the a posteriori argument). However, religion which consists in the veneration of the incomprehensible Being, God, that made us, and is more a matter of feeling, than of mathematical reasoning, or metaphysical distinction (as made in the schools) is little concerned in the dispute.

A word or two on grammar: but as we have had occasion to speak of a philosophical logic, higher than the mere vulgar art of scholastics, so here, in contradistinction to the grammar of the schools, I must be understood to mean Philosophical Grammar. Nor will the reader be

[a] Duncan's Logic.

[b] Descartes, Pascal, le Docteur Clarke lui meme, ont etc accuse d'Atheisme, par les Theologiens de leur tems; ce qui n'empeche point que *les theologiens subsequens ne fassent usage* de leurs preuves, & ne les donnent comme tres valables. Systeme de la Nature, Part. Sec. Chap. 4.

surprised to hear it spoken of in a history of university literature, if he recollects, that not only in our ancient monasteries, and colleges derived from them, there were regular grammar schools[a], but that as late as the time of Archbishop Parker, students graduated in grammar distinct from arts[b], as well as in theology, or canon and civil law.

There has been an attempt at Philosophical Grammar, written by one duly related to our Alma Mater, and it is in immediate reference to our own language: the attempt has succeeded. The object of the *Diversions of Purley* (as the book is entitled), is explained by the author himself in a few words: speaking of his abbreviations, or WINGED WORDS, he says, "I imagine it is in some measure with this vehicle of our thoughts, as with the vehicles of our bodies. Necessity produced both. Abbreviations are the vehicles of language, the wings of Mercury." In contra-distinction, therefore, to the eight parts of speech, as taught in our ordinary grammars, Mr. Tooke maintains, that strictly and philosophically speaking, there are only two, the noun and verb: the remaining parts of speech, he considers merely as abbreviations of these.

The author of the Diversions of Purley lays claim to the notice of his Alma Mater, by the following singular address, prefixed to his book—"To THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, one of her grateful sons, who always considers acts of voluntary justice

[a] Monastikῶν, Lib. I.

[b] Acad. Hist. Cant. p. 47

towards himself as favours, dedicates this humble offering[a]."

It is true—the Diversions of Purley is not a lecture-book, any more than many other works already mentioned; being, however, recommended by a plea of such filial feelings, and being itself a powerful performance, a *characteristic* work, it claims a place in a history of Cambridge literature.

We have thus traced our Alma Mater through her different stages of literary progress; through her dark or obscure age, her scholastic age, her intermediate, or, as it is called in the Appendix to Dr. Cave's HISTORIA LITERARIA, the Wickliffian age (in which new doctrines were contending for superiority with old), and through her literary or reformed age, commencing with the revival of literature, at the reformation: we must follow her now to her last, that is, her mathematical age.

[a] Επεα Πτεροεντα, or the Diversions of Purley. 2d Vol. 1798.

CHAP. IX.

MATHEMATICS—DR. BARROW, SIR ISAAC NEWTON, MR. WHISTON, AND OTHERS.

MATHEMATICS, by the ancients, was called by eminence *the learning*, and diva mathesis, the *divine mathematics*; yet not till a late period did Cambridge University cultivate it, with much devotion or success[a]: but having, at length, found the true avenue to it's temple, they have approached to it's most intimate recesses.

Though there were doubtless (before the time of Dr. Barrow) men of much mathematical knowledge at Cambridge (of whom notice will incidentally be taken in the proper place), yet the mathematical age properly commences with him: his Præ-lectiones Mathematicæ, being the book that preceded in

a ———— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

Whiston goes on: et pudeat nobis non immerito; his præsertim temporibus, quibus scientiæ mathematicæ florent alias ubiq., et excoluntur; quibusq. veram Physicam a Mathesi dependere unice, sit adeo certum et exploratum. Quinimo illud vel maxime fuit opprobrio, quod jam tum mathemata nobis academicis minimæ fuerunt curæ, cum Ducem et Professorem ipsum Newtonum, Geometrarum hujus Ævi, ne quid amplius jam dicam, facilè Principem, habuerimus. Prælec. Astron. Hab. Cantab. Anteloquium. 1707

course of due mathematical investigation. He was born in 1630, and was appointed Master of Trinity College by Charles II. Other eminent mathematicians were nearly contemporary with him, such as Dr. Smith, and Mr. Cotes, of Trinity College, and Mr. Whiston, of Clare Hall, and others. But they may all be considered as the precursors, or the genuine succesors, of Sir Isaac Newton. Newton was of Trinity College, was born at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, in 1642, and lived to a good old age, though all his discoveries were made and completed in the earlier period of his life. He died in 1727.

His great work, *Naturalis Philosophiæ Principia Mathematica*, was first printed in 1687. It was the same light which beamed on Bacon, which guided Newton to his discoveries: what the former considered as desiderata, the latter supplied. Prior to their time, the mode of philosophizing consisted in assigning to each species of things their specific, and occult qualities, from which all the operations of bodies, by some unknown, mysterious order, proceeded: this was the philosophy of the peripatetics, and having been implicitly adopted by the schoolmen, has been since called the Scholastic Philosophy: they affirmed that each effect of bodies flowed from its individual nature; but whence the several natures proceeded, they did not shew; they were defective in observation and experiment, dwelling rather on the names of things, than on the things themselves. According, therefore, to the Newtonians, whose words I borrow, they had invented a philosophical language, but could not be said to have taught philosophy [a].

[a] Newtoni Principia Philosophiæ Naturalis. Præf. a R. Cotes.

Some, indeed, according to the statement of the Newtonians, had, emerging somewhat from this obscurity of mere words, maintained that all matter was of the same kind; and that all the variety of forms, which we see in bodies, arises from the most simple affections of their component parts: but to those affections they assigned other modes than what, it appears, has been assigned to them by nature, indulging themselves in a liberty, which however plausible to the imagination, was not founded in reality; they conceived certain unknown figures and magnitudes, positions and motions of parts, together with certain occult fluids, which, by entering the pores of the bodies, agitated them with great subtlety and force: here, too, it was insisted, they had no authority, from observation or experiment, their theory being all founded on conjecture: the Newtonians, on advancing these objections, had in view the doctrine of atoms and vortices of Descartes and his followers. The accuracy of many of their mechanical laws and deductions were admitted; but their speculations were considered as mere hypotheses, fabulam, said the Newtonians, elegantem forte et venustam, fabulam tamen concinnare dicendum esse.

Thus was Newton led on to that third way of philosophizing, called experimental: he assumed no principle that was not sanctioned by phenomena, and from the most simple principles he aimed to arrive at general causes, and original laws: hypotheses he laid down not as systems to be believed, but as questions to be tried; and he proceeded by a twofold method, which he called analytic, and synthetic: he deduced the more simple powers and laws of forces from certain select phenomena; this he called

analysis; and then proceeding from those single phenomena to more general and comprehensive forms, he established *synthesis*. Not that this way of proceeding by analysis and synthesis are novelties; they are noticed by Aristotle. But these are the rules followed by Sir Isaac Newton, in his way of philosophizing, and by these he established a theory, which was said to explain and illustrate the system of the universe.

According to this theory, then, it was maintained, that all bodies had a tendency to gravitate, mutually, and to some centre; that they had a twofold force, one urging them to move forward, in a straight line, the other downward, to a center; the two forces combined forming a curve: thus he accounted for the motion of the heavenly bodies, and all proceeded on mathematical demonstrations, accompanied with the calculations of algebra.

The other branches of philosophy, as well as astronomy, were, in like manner, brought to the test of experience, and subjected to mathematics and algebra.

Such was the philosophy of Newton.

The science which had been laid down by this great man in the profoundest speculations, was opened in a more popular manner by others, particularly by Whiston, as already observed, in the public schools.—What has been said above upon this subject, has been delivered nearly in the Newtonian's own words; and it is not necessary to proceed farther: suffice it that this philosophy, made up, as we have said, of mathematics and algebra, constitutes now the principal discipline, and prime glory, of the University of Cambridge.

Thus have I attempted to lay before the readers a short account of the literature of Cambridge. I have,

perhaps, dwelt too long on its minuter and earliest state, and have been, in proportion, of necessity less diffuse on its more advanced and important periods: I leave something, which I have further to say, for two succeeding chapters.

CHAP. X.

BEING APPENDIX FIRST TO THE HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY LITERATURE—MR. RAY, AND DR. HARVEY.

THIS chapter is an after-thought: but an observation or two is due to botany; so a short appendix is added: for certainly, botany ought to be considered as in the cycle of Cambridge literature.

This we must conclude, on recollecting, that Mr. Ray, elected fellow of Trinity College in 1649, set out from Cambridge, on his pedestrian tour through England, to search for plants; that he was the first who made a hortus siccus, and a regular catalogue of the plants about Cambridge: nor is this all. A settled professorship was afterwards formed there for botany; two or three eminent persons formerly gave lectures[a] there in that science, and a good botanical garden favourable to the study of it has been provided. It is therefore probable, that botany was attended to more at Cambridge formerly, than it is now.

It should seem, indeed, as if there had been a peculiar predilection for Mr. Ray, and his favourite pursuit, at

[a] Particularly Dr. William Heberden, the physician; and Mr. Martyn, professor of botany, author of a curious edition of Virgil's Eclogues, in reference to botany.

Cambridge. Ray[a] was a non-conformist, but the college strongly solicited him, though in vain, to retain his fellowship. It seems, indeed, as if, with respect to him, they reversed matters; the usual practice being, that of those who were removed for non-conformity, by the Bartholomew act, the very portraits were removed from the college; whereas there is a full-length portrait of Ray in the hall of Trinity college, and a highly-finished bust of him in the library.

And I am myself desirous of extending this appendix to another small article: this, perhaps, will require apology. For I confess, the discovery, to which it refers, was not the result of any particular studies, nor were the experiments, from which it was deduced, performed at Cambridge. I allude to the discovery of the circulation of the blood, ascribed to the great physician and anatomist, Dr. Harvey.

But, then, this important theory threw new light on the nature of diseases, and particularly on comparative anatomy, in which are now delivered distinct appropriate lectures at Cambridge; and as Dr. Harvey, who confirmed and proved the theory, was a member of the University, and a fellow of Caius College, in winding up this little summary of Cambridge literature, I was impelled to introduce his name, perhaps, indeed, unseasonably, but I could not so well have brought my two or three observations within the compass of college history.

[a] Ray's works are very numerous. In his preface to the Wisdom of God in the Creation of the World, he says, "because he could not serve God in the church, he thought himself more bound to do it by his writings." His famous work, Historia Plantarum, in 2 vols. fol. was printed in London, 1686.

I shall not attempt to state the subject, either by maintaining how far the honour of the discovery is to be ascribed to Dr. Harvey, or in what proportion or parts it is an improvement on former opinions; nor yet how the theory was proved by Dr. Harvey's correcter observations and minuter experiments on the animal œconomy. Some foreigners have not been willing to give all the honour of a *discovery* to Dr. Harvey; other foreigners have strenuously supported his claim [a]. It is presumed

[a] Dr. Wotton has treated of this subject, in his *Reflections of ancient and modern learning*, chap. XIII. and, in producing a few passages from Hippocrates, allows, that he had a general notion of it, as an hypothesis, but no distinct idea of it; that he never made it intelligible, nor proved it by experiments. He also produces a few quotations from more modern physicians (anterior to Dr. Harvey) by which he aims to shew how far their knowledge on this curious subject went, particularly from poor Servetus, in his book, entitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, published in 1553, the very book for which he was burnt at Geneva, and of which there is said to be now only one copy known to exist.

Dr. Wotton, however, is not sufficiently copious in his quotations from Hippocrates, and he passes by many remarkable passages from other ancient writers: as to his saying, that Andreas Cesalpanus (in his Peripatetical questions, Venice 1571), is the *first* that used the word, *circulation*, in that sense, he is clearly mistaken, for it is used by the Great Peripatetic, Aristotle, in exactly that sense, (*αἵματος περίοδος*, the circulation of the blood, Aristot. de Insomniis, as quoted by *Dutens.*) Wotton is for ascribing the full and clear insight into this subject, the practical knowledge of its uses, and the actual proof of its reality as founded on experiments, to Dr. Harvey.

Dutens is more copious in his Extracts, as well from ancient, as more modern authors: he aims to reduce the honour of Dr. Harvey very low, and has given a short list of foreign physicians, who in their writings have maintained, that the circulation of the blood was known to Hippocrates, and the ancients; and he says, on the authority of Joannes Leonicenus, that Father Paul communicated the secret to Fabricius ab Aquapendente, medical professor at Padua in the 16th century, and successor to Fullopius. He adds, that Fullopius discovered

too by the annual Harveian Oration, delivered at the College of Physicians in London, that our English physicians side with the latter; and Alma Mater is proud to admit him among her more illustrious sons. There is an original portrait of Dr. Harvey, in the hall of Caius College; and an admirable portrait in Jesus College Combination-room, said to be one of Dr. Harvey[a].

it to Harvey, being then a medical student in that University. Mons. Dutens's Inquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the moderns, ch. III.

Other foreign writers give the crown of correct experiment, clear knowledge, and full demonstration to our great anatomist. He published a discourse on the subject at Frankfort, in 1628; and in 1661 it was re-published at Rotterdam, entitled de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis, being the *Anatomical Exercitations* on which his theory is founded. It is accompanied with a preface, by an eminent Dutch physician, Dr Andreas Sylvius, in the highest degree panegyrical, together with a treatise by another, Dr Jacobus de Back, in the same strain, dedicated to Dr. Harvey; and in his Alloquium to the reader, Dr. Back speaks of Harvey, as Circulationis Sanguinis Authore.

Harvey's Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium, were first published during his life-time, by Dr. George Ent, his contemporary at Cambridge: and it is clear from Harvey's admirable preface, that he pursued the great principles of Bacon and Newton, as the foundation of science: yet was he not backward to acknowledge his obligations to those who preceded him. "Id ne fieret," says he, "aliorum, qui in hoc negotio mihi facem prætulerunt, insisto vestigiis; eorumq. (quoad licuit) utor verbis, præ cæteris autem Aristotelem ex antiquis; ex recentioribus vero Fabricium ab Aquapendente sequor; illum tanquam ducem; hunc ut Præmonstratorem." This curious book, illustrative occasionally of his great doctrine, the Circulation of the Blood, was republished at Amsterdam, in 1651.

[a] The College of Physicians in London,—so high a value did they put on Dr. Harvey's Works,—published an Edition of them in 1767: and they possess a fine original portrait of him, by Theodore Jansen; to which, that in the Combination-room of Jesus College bears a striking resemblance.

CHAP. XI

REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, BEING APPENDIX II—PRESENT STATE OF THE PROFESSORSHIPS.

IN attempting to state within limits, which are necessarily so circumscribed, the rise and progress of literature and philosophy, in this ancient and learned institution, I have engaged, I perceive, in an arduous undertaking; and have endeavoured, therefore, to supply a lack of ability by additional industry to make up for brevity of time, and narrowness of limits, by calmness of attention, and comprehensiveness of plan. It should be recollected, that I am not a professor, but an historian, and that only on a small scale: correctness, not depth is required. readers must look for a summary, not a detail. To speak ingenuously, I fell on the subject almost insensibly, at first, and advanced gradually without system, sensim sine sensu, till, at length, I found myself within an enchanted circle, out of which there was no escaping.

Had I not made one general appeal to the reader's indulgence, I should have found occasion for a particular one here: but a candour that is not puerile, acts with seriousness; and a judgment, which is not intemperate, will

be tempered with candour; and to appeal to any other species of candour, or to any other species of judgment, would be trifling. Let it suffice. I proceed to general observations.

It is easy to condemn or to admire in the gross. This is the folly of weak minds, the disease of indolence, the self-idolizing affection of conceit and vanity.

Some years ago, the dispute concerning the superiority of the ancient or modern learning was a popular topic. In the reign of Charles II. when the Royal Society was established, Stubbs and Glanvile, and bishop Sprat[a], compared the old and new philosophy, more particularly in reference to the state of that institution. In France the question was examined on a larger scale, in reference to the full extent of science. As the Royal Society originated with Oxford men, the question at first was discussed principally by members of that University; afterwards, it was taken up by writers who were members of the University of Cambridge. Sir William Temple was for giving the crown to the ancients; Dr. Wotton more generally to the moderns; and Mr. Baker thought there was not over-much among either, or that we should have known better where to find it. Allusions have already been made to the two last. Bacon, too, we have seen, had some years before, not so much holden the balance of comparison, as given something of weight to that scale, where only it could be useful. And it was rather by the pointing out of defects, than dwelling on excellencies, that he improved philosophy.

In an historian, even this is not requisite. He may content himself with a less arduous, less invidious task,

[a] Bishop Sprat wrote a History of the Royal Society. See page 2d.

that of stating facts: and be his private judgment what it may, public facts are of the nature of general appeals: for the occasional interferences, actual establishments, or even experiments and attempts, made within a University, by those of their own body, and by royal or private patronage, ought to have, and with individuals, at least, will have, their proper authority.

It might have appeared, perhaps, rather popular to bring the question concerning literature nearer home, by enquiring, which of the two Universities, Oxford or Cambridge, had most excelled. For there is a spirit of rivalry, which is wont to pervade societies, as well as individuals: and he who gratifies an academical propensity, might, plausibly enough, presume on some prejudice in his favour. But on the other hand, those dissatisfied with the question, Which is the most ancient University? might not have been warmed by the other, Which is the most excellent? They might have maintained, that the whole truth cannot be on both sides of the question, nor on either, though something of the truth might; and that if both Universities have had defects, both too have had excellencies.

It has been insisted on, by several members of this University, as a sort of fundamental in a literary society, that no restraint should be put on the human understanding. It is maintained by others, that no restraint has been laid here; and I am glad to hear it. Where should we have found Bacons and Newtons, and Bentleys, if their understandings had been held in leading-strings, by an obedience to the fancies of preceding ages?

We have taken a short view of our dark and scholastic ages of literature in the University. They are not the wise men of Cambridge, but of Goshen, who assert that in those

ages, Cambridge had *nothing* but dreams and drones. There was ample room for the entrance of succeeding philosophers; but Cambridge always had its great, and wise, and good men. In systems of science, *even falsely so called*, there are many sparks of truth, which, when elicited, may be concentrated, and become the light of future ages. Let us tread manfully, but not scornfully, over the sepulchres of our ancestors. Bacon not only improved upon the writings of the ancients, but, as before observed, was greatly indebted to them: the doctrine of Newton was not unknown to Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle[a]: by travelling more eastward, we shall find many doctrines, deemed more modern, there[b];

[a] Thus, in the formation of the world, Timæus the Locrian, is made by Plato, to maintain the two powers, projection and gravitation imposed by the Demiurgus of Nature, ὡς ποτ' μίξιε δύο δυνάμιας, ἀρχὰς κινασίων, τὰς τε τῶ ταυτῶ, καὶ τὰς τῶ ἑτέρω ... καὶ δυσμίκτος ἐοίσας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ... ἐνεκιρνάτο λόγο δ' οὐδὲ πάντες ἐντὶ κατ' ἀριθμοὺς συγκεκραμένοι, λόγως κατὰ μοῖραν διηρημένοι ποτ' ἐπισαμαίνως ... ἐξ ὧν ἁ ψυχὰ, καὶ δι' ὧν, συνέστακε. Platon. Op. Edit. Steph. Vol. 2. p. 95, 96. I forbear quoting the other authorities: they may be seen in Dutens at large, B. 2, ch. 6. Though they are copied incorrectly, yet it will be seen from them, that the law of universal gravitation, if true, is no modern discovery, the demonstrations and explanations only are new: nor is the famous problem of Kepler's, in relation to the planets, concerning the inverse proportion of the quantity of matter, and the square of its distance, nor would Newton have claimed these as new discoveries, however some moderns have chosen to talk. See the authorities of the ancients on these subjects admitted and confirmed by Gregory and Maclaurin in Dutens as above.

That some other of the modern theories, claimed as discoveries by the moderns, were known to the ancients, see clearly shewn in Pliny's Natural History, lib. 2.

[b] I more particularly allude to the doctrine of Æther, as maintained by the ancient Chaldæans. See Stanleii Hist. Philosoph. Orient. by Le Clerc. lib. 1, & 2, cap. xiii. xiv, and the Ζωροαστρου λογια, which, whether genuine or not, contain some fragments of their ancient philosophy.

and in our schools at Cambridge, we still maintain many points which the old schoolmen maintained long before *.

But, who will pretend to deny that advances and improvements have been made? Ages of ages of learned men cannot have succeeded each other, occupied in calm studies, without acquiring something from those who went before, and adding to the common stock: and in our own University many circumstances have favoured improvements. At the revival of literature, something of liberation from a superstitious adherence to authority gave greater scope to theological enquiry; an extended acquaintance with languages, opened a wider field to criticism; an increase of light, the discovery and improvement in useful instruments and machines, all have aided experiments, developed new facts, and enlarged the regions of philosophy. That advances have been made in algebra and geography, who will deny? We have been breaking off from old laws, and the authority of great names. But custom stands still; and reformers, in their zeal, sometimes go back.

But let us now leave the higher grounds, and proceed in the more humble path of public encouragement, regular prosecution, and gradual improvement. This is the more popular way, as it will exhibit a short view of the literature of our University, in actual practice, and in modern time. To point out some barren spots, too,

* Franconis Burgersdicii, sive Methodus Definitionum et Controversiarum Lugd. Bat. 1627. Hac de causâ Authores citavi non antiquos illos Græcos, Arabas, et Latinos Interpretes, Aphrodisium, Ammonium, Philoponum, Simplicium, Themistium, Avicennam, Averroem, Boethium, Thomam, &c. qui autoritatem habent ab antiquitate; sed doctores, Conimbricenses, Zabarellam, Pererium, Toletum, aliosq: novos Scriptores, ex quibus ducere soletis prima lineamenta Philosophiæ.

may lead some happier genius to useful speculations and projects of improvement.

To speak directly to facts, no one can doubt, that the attention of the literati at Cambridge has been more steadily directed to various branches of literature, by the founding of professorships in Hen. VIII.'s reign: that is one of the more memorable epochs, whence the present establishments in our University may be dated. Other professorships succeeded them. Thomas Lucas, Esq. in 1663, founded a professorship, which has been filled by the most eminent mathematicians. Of these, Sir Isaac Newton gave no public lectures himself, being wholly occupied in his mathematical researches; but Mr. Whiston, his successor, aimed to render his researches popular, by giving lectures in the public schools, as it was formerly very common to do. The present Lucasian professor, is Dr. Isaac Milner, master of Queen's College.

The Plumean professorship was founded by Dr. Plume, in 1704, and superadded the great desideratum of experiment to demonstration; as now illustrated by Mr. Vince, formerly of Sidney College. The Plumean lectures are accommodated to the mathematical studies of the University, relating to mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, astromy, magnetism, electricity, and galvanism.

The Greek and Hebrew professorships, (those founded by Hen. VIII.) had, from their origin, no doubt, a liberal tendency; but as the salary continues the same, as in the Founder's reign, (merely £40. a year), we must not be surprised, if the labour of them does not increase; and that they have been for many years considered as only a feather in the cap. (Mr. Richard Porson, the late Greek professor, once meditated to deliver a course of lectures

on Greek literature). The Arabic we have seen in a similar predicament; but with this difference, it cannot boast a royal founder. It was founded by Sir Thomas Adams, Bart. in 1632. The present Hebrew professor is Dr. Lloyd; of Greek, Mr. Monk; of Arabic, Mr. Palmer.

Divinity has different professorships, that take different directions, while to each professor is assigned his appropriate employment. The present Margaret professor, previously to his appointment, had added something to the stock of the English theological student, by introducing the criticisms of the New Testament of an eminent German professor[a], considerably increased by his own; while the Rev. Mr. Hulse found new employment for a CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, (by his will, April 21, 1792), whom he appointed to reply to any current or popular objections of Atheists or Deists against the Christian religion. John Norris, Esq. also, founded a professorship for divinity in 1768. The professor is Mr. Fawcet.

The professorship of natural and experimental philosophy, founded by Mr. Jackson, in 1783, embraces chemistry; but there is also a distinct professorship of chemistry, founded 1713. The present professor, by applying machines formed by his own ingenuity, has given the science a new direction in the illustration of the arts and manufactures of this country[b]: and the professorship of Mineralogy, founded by the University in 1808, has, under the direction of Dr. Clarke, in like manner enlarged the sphere of mineralogy, illustrating by it many points in

[a] Introduction to the N. T. by J. D. Michaelis, &c. translated with notes, &c. by Herbert Marsh, D.D. 1793.

[b] A plan of a Course of Lectures on Arts and Manufactures, &c. By W. Farish, M.A. &c. 1796.

tural history, architecture, and sculpture, with other branches of literature. He may, indeed, be said to have formed the professorship, having before its foundation drawn up a syllabus of lectures, and produced mineralogical specimens, in reference to which the professorship was founded. There is another professorship of mineralogy that was founded prior to this, viz. in 1724, by Dr. Woodward.

There are some gentlemen, not professors, but one formerly a college tutor, another, at present, residing in the University, who have endeavoured to present new theories, or rules for practice to students in the sciences of astronomy and algebra; different somewhat from those generally received; the former, proposes to alter the language of algebra; the latter, to introduce less of geometry into its calculations, and suggests the desideratum of an observatory for astronomy; each aiming, in general, to improve the science, though each takes a different ground, and has in view a different specific object. Let others determine the result; mine is only to state the fact [a].

[a] The Modern Treatises on Algebra, in succession with those of Maclaurin and Saunderson more generally read in the University, are Mr. Wood's Elements of Algebra and Mr. Bridge's Elements of Algebra. Mr. Thomas Manning, also, an ingenious man, engaged now in some literary inquiries in China, published an Introduction to Arithmetic and Algebra in 1796. The Treatise on Algebra, alluded to in the text, was published by Mr. William Frend; in connection with whom, should be mentioned Mr. Maseres, Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, as maintaining the same theories, no Cambridge professor, indeed, but one of its oldest members, and well-known, by his writings, as an eminent mathematician [b]. In Mr. Frend's Evening Amusements for 1812 and 1813, will be

[b] Baron Maseres is the first who obtained the Chancellor's Prize in 1755, and is still living.

We must not pass over the professorship of civil law. The Roman imperial, or civil law, founded in the mere pleasure of the prince, at a time when Rome had lost its liberty, never properly suited the taste of our British ancestors: every one knows, how strenuously our barons resisted its progress: "Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari." "We will not that the laws of England should be changed:" and the civil law has not been studied much in the Universities since the reformation: the study of the canon law was prohibited by Henry VIII. and it is worthy of remark, that the same power that prohibited the study of the canon law, established a distinct professorship for the civil[a].

The late Bishop Hallifax, professor of civil law in 1770, published his lectures, delivered in the course of his professorship; and Dr. Jowett published his plan of lectures in 1795. But our lecturers on civil law keep in sight the common law: and still further, to confine within due limits the civil law, a professorship, exclusively for the laws of England, was founded by the University as late as 1788. The present professor is Mr. Christian.

But after all, Cambridge is not the proper place for the study of the law: and Sir John Fortescue shews the reasons; the principal of which, in his time, was, that the English laws were to be studied in three languages, the

found what is alluded to in the text on Astronomy; and in the Preface to Mr. Woodhouse's Elements of Astronomy, what relates to an observatory.

[a] Injunctiones Regiæ ad Universitatem Cantabrigiæ transmissæ, ac per Magistrum Tho. Cromwell [illegible] Regis Visitatorem generalem et Vicegerentem ac Universitatis Cancellarium adinventæ An. 27 Reg. Hen. VIII. Hare's MSS. The civil and canon law had generally assisted each other; "but here the study of the canon law is prohibited, and a Greek and Latin lecture founded at the expense of the University." Dr. Parris's note in loco.

Latin, the Norman French, and the English; whereas the sciences were only taught in one, the English: another was, that students should be near London. Here are the inns of court[a]: hence the expediency of having proper colleges, hostles, or inns of law, in the great city.

So again, with respect to physic, there is a distinct professorship founded for it by Henry VIII. though (its salary being only £40 a year) it is little more than honorary; and another for anatomy, founded by the University in 1707: yet Cambridge has never been considered as the proper place for the medical or anatomical student. The proper place is a great city like London or Edinburgh: and, without touching on the history of those eminent men of the latter city, in the medical profession, (which however commences but late,) we need only compare together the population and local circumstances of the two places, for the reasons on which the superior medical advantages of them over Cambridge depend: for numerous crowded hospitals, and other public institutions, must always furnish materials for lectures and experiments, which cannot be supplied in a town comparatively small, and with a single hospital. The present Regius Professor of physic is Sir Isaac Pennington: of anatomy Sir Busick Harwood, who delivers lectures on comparative anatomy.

Other professorships, lectureships, and fellowships, (I mean the travelling fellowships,) might be mentioned. For sinecures, as such, I make no distinct head: where

a Fortescue de Laud. Ll. Ang. cap. 48. In addition, and in some measure, in contradistinction to the reasons assigned by Sir John Fortescue, why the municipal or common law was not formerly studied in our Universities, Blackstone mentions the character and offices of the clergy, who were canonists, and civilians; and through their attachment to the see of Rome, no friends to the common law of England. Commentaries, &c. on the Laws of England, Introduction.

we do not absolutely approve, we are not prepared positively to applaud; and men unqualified to reform, are sometimes as little inclined to condemn. Let then the arguments stand, as they are urged, in all their force,—that Universities should possess, in certain cases, the means for bestowing on merit benefits without services, as well as of remunerating services with merited ease and dignified retreat. But without obtruding an opinion, it is sometimes not out of place to state facts, and facts well known and public, it cannot be impertinent to repeat.

The high character of Oxford for oriental literature, superior to that of Cambridge, has been already mentioned. It may be further remarked, that Oxford enjoys, what one of our Cambridge literati notices, as we have seen, to be a desideratum in this University, 'an observatory for astronomy. Oxford also has a professorship, (and it ought to be made of some consequence to Englishmen,) a Saxon professorship, not possessed at Cambridge.

The Scotch Universities have gained reputation by their lectures in Political Œconomy. Cambridge makes no distinct professorship for this important branch of science: those which approach nearest to it were delivered, as lectures, by a tutor in his private college[a]. This circumstance of there being no professorship for this science so impressed a late tutor of Queen's, that he published a judicious syllabus of lectures, professedly on political œconomy, with a view to giving a course of public lectures[b].

[a] Dr. Paley's Lectures on Moral Philosophy.

[b] A Syllabus or Abstract of a System of Political Philosophy; to which is prefixed a Dissertation, recommending that the study of political œconomy be encouraged in the University, by a course of public lectures. By Robert Acklom Ingram, B.D. 1799.

It is well-known, that Edinburgh has a distinct professorship for agriculture. How far the improvements made in agriculture, may be, in any measure indebted to that professorship in the way of science, or to statistical and agricultural Surveys, in the way of observation, let others determine: but improvements in agriculture have, as all know, been made in Scotland. Cambridgeshire, too, it is well-known, is an agricultural county; and certain professors have, no doubt, in their lectures, with propriety, assigned agriculture its place in their course of lectures. But let not ignorance smile at scientific farmers and professors of agriculture. Who knows not that agriculture derives its surest rules, its most natural improvements, and steadiest supports, from science?

That the University of Oxford should have a Saxon professorship, and Cambridge not, as just observed, is a circumstance which some might choose to dwell on with peculiar emphasis. Every one, too, will recollect what attention the French have paid to the study of their own language, from the time of Cardinal Richlieu, under whose auspices was founded an academy, exclusively, for the study of the French language[a]: now the Saxon is in fact our own language: it was that spoken by our English ancestors, and into that the greater part of our words, and our grammar, may be resolved. Consequently, in inquiries into the genius, analysis, and con-

a Recueil des Harangues prononcées par Messieurs de l'Academie Françoise, dans leurs Receptions, et en d'autres occasions, depuis l'establissement de l'Académie jusqu'à present. Par Jean-Baptiste Coignard. Monsieur Charpentier, one of the academicians, in his address, ascribes the perfection of the French poetry and eloquence to this institution, and, conformably to that idea, wrote his Treatise de L'excellence de la Langue Françoise.

struction of the English language, and into our local customs, and national antiquities, as well as our history and laws, a knowledge of the Saxon language must bring with it undoubted advantages: and, perhaps, never from the English press issued a book, better entitled on many accounts, to the attention of Englishmen, than Bishop Wilkins's edition of the Anglo Saxon Laws.

The language itself, too, is copious and expressive[a]. Should any one affect to treat it as monotonous and poor, he should be dismissed for more correct information, and wholesome chastisement, to an English lady, who wrote a very useful Saxon Grammar[b].

I cannot help adding what follows on this subject. In Baker's MSS. in the British Museum, are some papers relative to a Saxon professorship. From several letters of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary, copied from MSS. in the public library at Cambridge, it appears, that a few years before his death, he meditated to found a Saxon lectureship; and that eighteen years after the establishment of the Arabic lectureship, by Sir Thomas Adams, Lord Mayor of London, funds were appropriated by Spelman for a Saxon one. The order of the senate may be seen among Baker's Papers, signed by the Vice Chancellor; and part of an introductory discourse to the University. The following is the title: "Oratio et Specimen in Britanno-Saxonicam Prælec-

[a] See a Treatise on Languages, and one professedly on the English Language, in Camden's REMAINS.

[b] Preface to Dr. Hickes of the Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue; by Eliz. Elstob. This work is grounded on Dr. Hickes's Grammatica Anglosax. in his Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium:—Mrs. Elstob handles those who affect to treat the Saxon language and antiquities contemptuously with great smartness.

tionem, auspiciis honorabilis viri Domini Henrici Spelman inchoatam, datum et habitum in Conventu academicorum omnium ordinum in Scholis juris consultorum ab Abrahamo Wheloco."

Englished:

An Oration and Specimen towards a British Saxon Prelection, begun under the auspices of that honourable gentleman, Henry Spelman; given and delivered at a meeting of the academics of all ranks in the law schools, by Abraham Whelock.

The Oration and Specimen are very short, abrupt, and unfinished, ending with—cætera desiderantur

And here some readers may call to mind, the professorship (founded by Geo. I. in 1724,) of Modern History, which in the hands of Mr. Gray, was ineffective: this is mentioned not to censure Mr. Gray, but to applaud the present professor, Mr. Smyth. Mr. Mason has undertaken Mr. Gray's defence. It appears, there were some difficulties in the way, which Mr. Gray could not easily surmount; and that after all, had he lived, (for he had great scruples on the subject,) he would, most probably, either have given lectures, or resigned[a] the professorship.

The circumstance has been more particularly mentioned, to shew, how establishments, that may have been suffered to sleep awhile, may be brought again into effect. For under the management of the present professor, the department of modern history is become, not merely effective, but of high consideration.

It is obvious to remark, that Alma Mater has no professorship for the fine arts. Anciently, in the monasteries,

[a] See Mr. Gray's last Letter to Mr. Mason, with the observations of the latter on it, at the end of Mason's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray.

Art took her seat near Science. What there was of painting was executed principally in monasteries. The Norman divines were generally architects, who studied to rival each other, and sometimes strove to outvie themselves, in their churches of massy, curious, elaborate workmanship. Nuns were limners: and the finest Gothic buildings were designed and superintended by monks and abbots.

But as Science extended her views, she increased her stores, and would not admit of partnership. Art has, therefore, provided for herself elsewhere. She seeks royal academies, and the great city, where numerous paintings of the best masters, and models of the antique, abound; where rivalry stimulates to excellence, and excellence may look for the public patronage.

But though *Alma Mater* has no professorships of the arts, she is not without exquisite models: she can shew but few fine paintings; but she exhibits one of the grandest display of public buildings in England: she has a few very exquisite busts and magnificent statues of her sons; and some of her best modern buildings were designed by her own members.

Cambridge possesses, in the town and university, a few specimens of Norman or Saxon architecture, the most perfect of the Gothic, (as King's College Chapel,) and some of all the Grecian and Roman orders: these may be called her silent lecturers. Let a person, inquisitive into these matters, furnish himself with a few books, that are within reach of almost every one, and study these buildings, and he will enjoy the advantage of a professorship without its formality. Thus it was Gray, who, for the twenty-five last years of his life, resided almost constantly at Cambridge, studied architecture; and few men were better

acquainted with the principles of our old English architecture than Mr. Gray.

And here, perhaps, some may ask: But has Cambridge done nothing for poetry? Has she no professorship for this divine art? No—but Oxford has. True—Which has acted most judiciously? Gray refused the offer of poet laureat's place; and I doubt whether he would have had humility enough for a professorship of poetry.

The fact is, the province of poetry is more to please than instruct, or rather, prodesse delectando, to profit in pleasing, and her essential qualities are not so much the effect of a too regular discipline, as of force of imagination. You may give laws for framing measures, and advice to poetry in the form of poetical prælections[a], with great exactness, and much at ease; but, Can you kindle up the fires of genius? Can you call forth the sublime energies of poetry?

Whether Alma Mater's conduct is a silent reply to such objections; whether she has proceeded from accidental oversight, or systematic design, matters not. But let an Oxford critic bear testimony, that, in true poetry, Cambridge has not been defective; that without a professor to cultivate the soil, and amidst all her mathematical training, which is said to stint the growth of poetry, our Alma Mater of Cambridge, in times past, has produced a rich

[a] I do not mean to degrade such books as Trapp's Prælect. Poeticæ, (Oxford, 1722,) but allude to a too large expectation from them, and too minute, artificial an application of them; being entirely of Longinus's opinion on the subject:—Οτι αυτη (Natura) μεν πρωτον τι και αρχετυπον γενεσεως ςοιχειον επι παντων εςηκεν· τας δε ποσοτητας και τον εφ' εκαςου καιρον, ετι δε την απλανεςατην ασκησιν τε και χρησιν ικανη παρορισαι, και συνενεγκειν η μεθοδος. And again,—Ως η μεν φυσις την της ευτυχιας ταξιν επεχει η τεχνη δε την της ευβουλιας. De Sublimitate, ed. Pearce, p. 10. 12. I also allude to what was, probably, Gray's opinion on the subject.

harvest[a]: and, Who will say, that many, in modern times, amongst her writers of prize poems, and tripos poems, and amongst those known to the world as poets, could not have fixed upon one fitted to fill a poetical chair, or to be complimented as a nominal professor?

Has not Alma Mater entered into the sentiments of one, who, though no professor, knew and felt the dignity, to which true poetry aspires?

"Poesy," says he, "is a part of learning, in measure of words, in part restrained, but in all other parts extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination; which, not being tied to the laws of matter, may, at pleasure join that which nature has severed, and sever that which nature has joined; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things; pictoribus, atq. poetis, &c. It is taken in two senses, in respect of words or matter: in the first sense, it is but a character of style, and belongeth to arts of speech, and is not pertinent to the present: in the latter it is, as hath been said, one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing less than that feigned history which may be styled as well in prose as poetry.

"The use of this feigned History hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man, in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things. Therefore, because the acts, or events of true history, have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poesy feigneth acts and

[a] See Bishop Newton's Life of Milton. The biographer admits that Cambridge has produced a richer harvest of poetry than Oxford.

events greater and more heroical: because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore poesy feigns them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed providence: because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, therefore poesy endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected variation, so as it appeareth, that poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and delectation[a]."

Having, then, in the preceding pages, hinted at a few omissions in our Alma Mater, let us acknowledge her superiorities. In what is greatest she is generally understood to be great. The Marquis de Condamini, treating of Academies, (A. 1755,) objects, "that though there were several academies[b] at *Rome* for poetry, eloquence, sculpture, and painting, for designing and modelling, there was none, even there, for physic and mathematics, and that throughout all Italy, there was only one for antiquities, and one for the sciences." The academy at Naples was not established till after 1755.

[a] The PROFICIENCE and ADVANCEMENT of LEARNING.

[b] There are, however, besides, several universities in Italy. The author is speaking only of its academics.

PART III.

PUBLIC WALKS, AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

CHAP. I.

PUBLIC WALKS.

OUR public walks and public buildings are usually made the subject [illegible] of description: it is intended with description to [illegible] on the present occasion, a little of literary remark [illegible], it is, that the routine of our walks, and gardens, and public edifices, constitutes no part of our Cambridge literature: but what relates to them is concerned both with science and art: and a few literary remarks, in treating of them, may seem not out of order in a UNIVERSITY HISTORY.

On contemplating a spot of ground, before it is laid out, we should inquire *what it can be made* from its natural qualities and capabilities; what it *might* be made under the direction of a man of genius and taste; and what it *ought* to be made, in reference to its future designation and inhabitants. Who expects to find the bold

points, and striking contrasts, of mountain-scenery, the roaring cascade, or thundering cataract, on a plain? Who raises plantations of oaks in a corn field? or, who, in a park, looks for light espaliers, and parterres of flowers?

> But learn to rein
> Thy skill within the limits she allows;
> Great Nature scorns controul; she will not bear
> One beauty foreign to the spot or soil.
>
> *Mason's English Garden.*

Let us distinguish, too, between gardens and public walks; between a nobleman's pleasure ground, and a spot to be adapted to the health and exercise of students, to academic retreats, which invite to meditation.

A D'Ermenonville [a], or our own Mason [b], had they been called, at first, to *create* beauties on this spot, might certainly have formed some charms, which it now wants: and could they have commanded the Cam, might have done a great deal. I am reminded, too, that Mr. Brown, so much admired for his skill in landscape gardening [c], could do wonders on a plain surface, by help of draining

[a] R. L. Gerardin, Viscounte D'Ermenonville, author of an admirable ESSAY ON LANDSCAPE.

[b] Author of as admirable a poem, called the English Garden.

[c] Mr. Brown's plan may be seen at the entrance of the University library. He was the particular friend of Mr. Mason, and lies buried in Fenstanton church, a few miles from Cambridge. On his monument is the following inscription, written by Mason.

Lancelot Brown, Esq. died February 6, 1783, aged 67 years.

> Ye sons of elegance, who truly taste
> The simple charms that genuine art supplies,
> Come from the sylvan scenes his genius grac'd,
> And offer here your tributary sighs.
> But know, that more than genius slumbers here;
> Virtues were his which Art's best powers transcend:
> Come, ye superior train! who these revere,
> And weep the Christian, Husband, Father, Friend.

marshes, of artificial waters, and vallies, and by removing ground; by serpentine walks, and plantations of trees: he wished to display his taste on these grounds, and Mr. Ashby has hinted that the expense would have been scarce worth mentioning; a noble young Duke, then residing in one of the colleges, having proposed to set it on foot, by a subscription of 1000l. This subject, at the time, engaged much attention, but the plan was never realized. Whether for pleasure, or for profit, the improvements would have been worth this moderate expense, whether the projector would have received the thanks of the town, or the gratitude of posterity, or to what extent Mr. Brown's specific plan was capable of being realized, are questions foreign to our narration.

To the public grounds of an university, what seems congenial, are walks agreeably, but not abruptly winding, lofty trees,

——— Or arching groves,
That contemplation loves.

Gray,

seats, or alcoves, not rustic, nor yet fantastical; not placed at random, nor yet formally obtrusive; with edifices adapted to the scenery and place. But, who, in such places would look for topsile trees, jets d'eaux, and zigzag walks; Chinese temples, or Diogenes's tubs? Not that Mr. Brown's improvements were in this little style: his plan shall presently speak for itself. The eye would certainly have been pleased with walks more winding, with a greater variety of trees, with something more of a winter garden of ever-greens, and of light underwood near the banks of the river, and that without affecting to bring the Wye, or Usk, to these haunts, or obstructing the naviga

tion. What future improvers may effect, time only will show. But let these hints supersede much of criticism on landscape gardening: and as the genius of the place does not require, so will our attempts not aspire to length or labour of description:

> Sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.
>
> *Virgil.*

These grounds, then, as they are now disposed, consist of several walks with plantations of majestic elms, except one of a grand row of chesnuts, and two or three of limes. The walks are in general strait, and Cam moves near them; not crowned about here with much of his sedge, nor yet with cheerful underwood, but with slow, sullen course. Milton, therefore, was always for abusing him, whether writing in Latin or English[a]. The narrow

[a] Hence in his Lycidas.

> Next Camus, reverend sire, came footing slow,
> His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge.

And in his Latin Elegies, (ad Car. Deodatum):

> Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
> * * * * * * *
> Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasq. negantia molles:
> Quam male Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!

Milton had a thorough hatred of Cambridge. Hear, on the other side, Cowley:

> O sacri fontes, et sacræ vatibus umbræ!
> Quas recreant avium Pieridumq. chori!
> O Camus! *Phœbo* nullus quo *gratior* amnis!
>
> Eleg. Dedicat. &c. ad Acad. Cantab.

Gray and Mason were full of affectionate greetings to the Cam.

bed of the river does not admit of large magnificent bridges, but one by the late Mr. Essex, an ingenious architect, formerly of this town, is of great elegance, and universally admired.

It may be admitted, that the public walks of our sister university have some superior charms over these we are now describing: the walks are generally more winding, without so many *formal strait lines*, and *acute angles*; the trees have greater variety of foliage, (and, consequently, you have bolder lights and shades,) and there is more of underwood and shrubbery, amidst their fine oaks, beech, birch, and elms: Cambridgeshire is very parsimonious of trees, and her oak is proverbial for the willow [a]: the stately wide walk of Christ Church, some overshadowed walks, a more majestic spread of water, a sprightlier course of the river, and the affectionate junction of the two streams [b], on Christ Church meadow, are extremely interesting and fine, and when considered in detail, or by being compared with what is beautiful in the Cambridge walks, must be allowed to rise by the comparison.

But, still our walks have their peculiar beauties, adapted to the place and the walk planted with limes from Clare Hall, forms a vista, lengthened, and of admirable effect. You might say, perhaps, that Oxford has not any thing of the kind equal to this: the eye is also carried across the river through a fine vista, formed by rows of lime and elm, as you come from Trinity library, terminating in Coton

[a] Cowley, we may see, was not ashamed of our Cambridge willow.

> Felix, qui nunquam plus uno viderit amne!
> Quiq. eadem *Salicis* littora more colit!

[b] Where meet our streams, indulging short delay.

Warton's Complaint of Cherwell.

Church; the view of Clare Hall piece, as seen from King's College, or Clare Hall, with the adjoining objects, forms a most pleasing landscape, as seen over the Cam, and opening, through a plantation of venerable elms, to the adjacent fields: any eye that can perceive rural beauty may dwell on these pictures with delight: but, taking into consideration the beauty and grandeur of the several buildings, to be seen from Clare Hall, or King's College, Oxford must yield to Cambridge; nor must you say this is not Grasmere nor Keswick; there is no scene of the kind throughout all England, that can be compared with these. The aspect, too, is the best that could be, both for the walks, and effect on the adjoining buildings; a south-western more lightly planted; but it is more strongly planted and fortified against the north.

Having mentioned Mr. Brown, I cannot forbear just stating what his more bold attempt at improvements was. He proposed that the river, instead of taking its course, as it comes from Newnham, should be removed to a greater distance from the colleges: this would certainly have removed some nuisances, and formed the agreeable part in landscape scenery, as viewed from the chambers of those colleges, near which it now passes; and particularly, instead of moving closely under the western building of St. John's, it was, by being moved to a considerable distance, to have taken its course not, as now, on the south side of Magdalen College, but on the north side, between that college and St. Peter's Church, and all those summer houses, and other small houses on each side of the bridge, now abutting on Magdalen College and St. John's [a]

[a] For these two or three ideas of Mr. Brown's plan, I am indebted to Mr. Ashby's MSS.

—certainly no great ornaments—were to have been removed.

This plan, had it been executed, might certainly have added some beauties to these grounds, and have been more pleasing, by its distant view, from all those colleges; as it was to have had the accompaniment of other improvements, of which, in Mr. Brown's hands, these grounds were certainly susceptible: but it is enough just to have hinted at these matters.—And this must suffice for our public walks.

CHAP. II.

ATTEMPTS AT OTHER IMPROVEMENTS.

IN speaking of Mr. Brown's attempts at improvement, I am insensibly led to some suggested by Mr. Ashby, late fellow of St. John's: I at least suppose them to be his: for I am indebted to his paper for several ideas on this subject. One was, and he calls it the chief, to render the east end of Trumpington Street less inconvenient: for, if the corners could have been rounded off, and thereby much good done, yet the street, in that part, for a considerable way, is so very narrow, (besides the sharp turning off to Newmarket, which is again repeated at the entrance of Jesus Lane,) as to be quite inadequate to accommodate the great number of carriages passing constantly to and from all the eastern and northern counties: as the street cannot be widened, he thought the evil might be remedied by making an entire new street, from near the back gate of the Rose Inn, over against the lane between Trinity and Caius Colleges, in a strait line to open against Jesus Lane: this would, he thought, have carried off the numerous carriages, that wanted to go into Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; and as the town is rather defective in dwelling houses, for gentlemen occa-

sionally residing, it would have answered many good purposes to the town.

He thought, further, that on a stranger's entering the town from London, nothing would impress him with a higher opinion of the place, than an improvement of the façade of Pembroke Hall: it stands in a handsome broad part of the street, certainly; and if the other extremity was finished like the west end of the chapel, the entrance removed into the middle, handsome modern windows put in, and the roof properly marked by a balustrade, or parapet wall, it would contribute more to the ornament of the place, than perhaps any other college.

Mr. Ashby thought Clare Hall so complete, as hardly to allow of any improvement, except the removal of the mean dwarf walls, between the college and the bridge, and setting down the iron rails upon the ground; and that the similar walls, by the river side, should be taken away, for when the fine west front is viewed from the walks, these low dirty walls appear to form a vile looking brick base to a grand stone building; he adds, if Trinity College would be so obliging, as to allow the corner that projects into the street, next to St. John's College, being rounded off to the corner of St. John's College, and the gate leading into the back lane, between their college and St. John's, set level with the latter, and the high wall removed, which marks half their front, that society might exhibit a noble antique front, by bringing the east end of the chapel parallel with the rest, and finishing the other end with a similar wing, regulating the windows, roof, &c. as before recommended in Pembroke College.

Whether these were originally the unconnected hints of Mr. Brown, or make part of some regular plan of wished

improvements, matters not: they have been submitted to the reader, in Mr. Ashby's own words:—and the defects in our public walks, leading, by an association of ideas, to other defects, I should have been in danger of pursuing the subject still further, could improvements have been suggested as readily. But of evils, which scarcely admit of a remedy, it is fruitless to complain. Narrow, strait streets, and the paucity of genteel houses, for occasional residents, in a town with an excellent market, near which are such fine roads and walks, for daily exercise, and in which is an university, where a gentleman might sometimes like to superintend the education of his son, these are evils; but how will you remedy them?

Reverse, then, the picture, and consider the many real improvements made within a few years: little more than fifty years ago, the roads about Cambridge were very bad, some scarcely passable: they are now some of the best in England. Milestones, that great convenience, were first used on these roads: within a very few years back the town has been well paved and lighted. Contrast it as now seen with what it was in the time of Erasmus, who talks of taking a ride round the market place for exercise. In all directions from the town, east, west, north, and south, you have now neat and agreeable walks; and on the west of the public walks you are beginning to have other walks agreeably planted:—so let us leave our university walks and public improvements. And let poor Cam still awaken some agreeable recollections, and plaintive feelings to those who have mused on his banks.

> Qualis eram cum me tranquilla mente sedentem
> Vidisti in Ripâ, Came serene, tua.
>
> *Cowley.*

CHAP. III.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

THOSE who take the range of the walks will, from different points of sight, have had a glance of several of our public buildings; and an occasion will present itself hereafter of speaking concerning particular colleges: we shall then only survey the square, adjoining the public walks: and we can but drop hints without minuteness of detail, or much formality of ichnographical description.

Leaving the public walks, to the west, you enter the grand square near King's College. The best point of sight will be two or three yards on the north side of St. Mary's, where, with that of other buildings, you have the completest home view that can be taken of the different parts of KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL. From the very nature of the building, it no where appears to advantage in a distant prospect: Cambridge itself, too, by its situation, is little qualified for an imposing view; and from this point of sight you have an opportunity of remarking the objection that has been made to the construction of the buttresses, which leave at the bottom of King's Cha-

pel the idea of an internal, enclosed cloister*. It, however, no doubt, arises from that necessity to which every thing must yield: but a more proper place is left for a description of this inimitable building.

From this point, taking in view the whole square, it will be agreeable to an eye, that can look properly at objects, to observe no mixture of brick and stone. The different ranges of these buildings all displaying one hue of white, without any glare of red. The Senate House is built of Portland stone, and constructed according to the Corinthian order. Four fluted pillars support a rich pediment, and are accompanied with eight pilasters, the north and south fronts having nine windows above and eight below: the pediment is much ornamented; and above is a fine balustrade. The eastern front has three windows at top, and two at bottom: the elevation and fine proportions of this building are universally admired.

It has been thought by some, on a survey of the whole façade, that this building is more decorated than was requisite or is agreeable. The Corinthian order requires ornament, but it certainly may be overcharged. The superabundance of windows, too, in the north and south fronts has been frequently observed; and the correctness of the observations will appear, by comparing with them the eastern front, which has not, I apprehend, the same appearance, from being so much shorter, though its proportions, in windows, columns, and intercolumniations, are the same. Here the effect is more pleasing, at least; and the beauty and perfection of this front have received unmingled praise. In Gothic buildings, the

* Mr. Dallaway's Observations on English Architecture.

great variety of windows has a happy effect on the inside perspective, for they have within arches and pillars, by which the rays of light are reflected, and intermingled, so as to produce something like picturesqueness to the sight: in Grecian buildings, without those accompaniments, the light is apt to be too glaring. It may be observed, too, that the interior of this fine building is not so well calculated to shew to advantage a grand assemblage of company on public occasions, like the Installation, as the Amphitheatre at Oxford. But waving these matters, the architectural skill displayed in the building is greatly admired, and the effect wonderfully fine. Here the degrees are taken, and the public business of the University is transacted.

The statues on the inside have been so often described, that I think it unnecessary to go over the same ground. They have been generally considered as very fine pieces of sculpture: the least to be admired, the STATUE OF GLORY, has been lately removed: this, as being that of the presiding genius, in a temple, where literary honours are conferred on the votaries of science, ought to have been of the best design, and the most perfect execution. To supply its place, a very beautiful statue, of white marble, has been erected, to the memory of Mr. Pitt, the late prime minister, representative of the University, and formerly of Pembroke Hall. Mr. Pitt is in an erect posture, and in his Master of Arts gown, as in the act of addressing a great assembly. I cannot help noticing two lines, written by a lady, on the occasion:

Sons of Sapience, you here a fair emblem display,
For wherever Pitt went he drove Glory away.

But audi alteram partem. The following lines were written by a member of the University.

Why thus exclaim, and thus exert your wit,
At making Glory here give place to Pitt?
We'll raise his Statue of the finest stone[a],
For never here a brighter Glory shone.

Upon the eastern side of the square stands St. Mary's church, to which the University resort on Sundays and other sacred days. The Supreme Being dwelleth not in temples made with hands: religion only concerns the conscience and the heart: so no *religious affections* are concerned in the name, the order, and style of the building.

Which of the Grecian orders is the best, or whether the Saxon or the Gothic is more appropriate; of the several Gothic styles, which is to be preferred; whether English architecture should be simply considered, chronologically, without referring to any Gothic original; or whether, finally, our Saxon ancestors worshipped God in houses of wood or of stone[b]; a question that has

[a] It was brought from Carrara, and cost Mr. Nollekins, the statuary, more than 300 guineas.

[b] That our British ancestors built their churches, as their houses, of wood, appears from the model in Spelman's Brit. Concil. vol. i. p. 11. But the Saxons in this island very early raised their churches of stone, formed out of heathen temples; and the first Saxon churches that were built by them were also after the Roman style, more Romano, of stone with round arches, and the addition of some fantastic ornaments of their own. This clearly appears from Ducarel's Norman Antiquities, p. 100, 101, and of many we have still remains. What our learned antiquary, Mr. Sumner, says, is certainly a mistake: "Before the Norman's Advent, most of our monasteries and church buildings were of wood." The Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 156. But this subject is treated of at large in Mr. Bentham's History of ELY CATHEDRAL. That curious re-

been much agitated), these are all inquiries, not of religion, but of art.

main of *Saxon Antiquity*, Grinstead Church, is allowedly of wood; but it was an adaptation subsequent to its first erection, it having been originally a shrine for the body of St Edmund, and built upon the plan of the *British* Churches. See Ducarel, as above.

As some of the following observations, and, indeed, some which precede) were designed as illustrations of some of our public buildings, and as hints to young students, they were intended for a note in the preface, but were misplaced, while it was printing off, so they are introduced here, with an apology to the reader, for thus over-crowding the present note.

The Saxon and Norman architecture is the same style, differing only in a few ornaments, and, therefore, writers sometimes use one term, and sometimes the other, and sometimes, indeed, in the use of it, have created confusion, as they have also in the use of the word Gothic. The Sax and Norm. are compared together in the Norm. Antiq. just referred to.

There are three remains of this very ancient style at Cambridge; St. Peter's Church, near Castle Hill, the Round Church, or St. Sepulchre's, formerly the Knights Templars[a], erroneously by some supposed to have been a Jews' Synagogue, and part of Jesus College Chapel, formerly belonging to the nunnery of St Rhadegund, all of the 11th or 12th centuries, though since repaired, and *alacre l* after *another* style.

I speak conformably to the common reception of language in the use of the word Gothic, "the perfection of which" says Mr. Gray, "began in the 13th century." The term Gothic is, in strict propriety, inaccurately applied to the style alluded to, I mean to churches and chapels having windows, and doors of pointed arches, &c and as less or more ornamented, called the Lanced Gothic, Pure Gothic, ornamented Gothic, Florid Gothic, &c. The lanced-arched Gothic may be seen in some of the windows of Jesus College Chape; King's College Chapel is the florid Gothic, St Mary's Church the pure Gothic; Trinity College perhaps rather the ornamented Gothic, though sometimes called the florid. The subject of the Gothic, in reference to our old English churches, is unfolded in Mr. Bentham's excellent History of Ely, often alluded to in this work. Sect 5. Mr. Gray, it is well known, had given much attention to this subject See Mason's Memoirs, &c. of Gray, vol. ii. p. 99, and 101; edit. of 1807 · and Mr.

[a] See Mr. Essex's Essay on Round Churches.

Our ideas, indeed, of what art can effect are by association interwoven with religious ideas; so that what form and style of building are best adapted to religious worship, becomes a question of fitness.

If of the Grecian orders you say, that the Doric is more natural and original, the basis of all the rest, and capable of expressing, without superfluities of ornament, both what is elegant and durable, you might think perhaps the Doric order would have succeeded best in a

Gray was supposed to have furnished Mr. Bentham with his ideas on that subject; but the matter is set right in the last edition of Mr. Bentham's History. Mr. Dalloway has greatly enlarged on Mr. Bentham's ideas, and much enriched them, by apt illustrations from foreign buildings as well as from those in this country. The Four Essays on Gothic Architecture by different writers, (one of whom was Mr. Bentham already mentioned) have treated on the same subject, and the RUDIMENTS of ancient Architecture, printed in 1810, distinctly explains the distinguishing marks of the Grecian and Roman orders. It is to be lamented that the critical remarks of Mr. Kerrich, our Public Librarian at Cambridge, are to be procured with difficulty,—he having printed only fifty copies for the use of his friends,—for they treat much of the science of our old English architecture, though with but little of its artificial distinctions. It was delivered to the Antiquarian Society. It is also to be lamented that the Essays of our two ingenious Cambridge architects, Mr. Essex and Mr. Wilkins, are to be seen only in the Archæologia.

Pepys's Library, Magdalen College, is of the Tuscan order, though I do not know why it should have been so; for it is more decorated than that order usually is. Nevile's Court, Trinity College, is Doric: the front of Emmanuel, Ionic; the Senate House, a beautiful specimen of the Corinthian; and Caius College affords, *in petto*, distinct specimens of all the Five Orders. Strictly speaking, the Doric is the proper original Order, in Grecian architecture; the Tuscan is the Doric, dropping some of its ornaments and proportions; the Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, are but the Doric, with some differences of ornament and proportions. See Mr. Edmund Aikin's valuable Essay on the Doric Order.

temple[a]; but if you think that buildings, though appropriated for different purposes, admit of competition, you might have wished a university church, placed near a senate-house of a richer order, should have had all, and more than all, the embellishments and proportions of the Corinthian. If, again, you consider the elegancies of the ornamented Gothic, or the traceries and other rich varieties of the florid Gothic[b], you might have preferred, perhaps, one of them, to the weightier masses of the Saxon pillar and round arch. But architects and priests were before you, and made their own choice; so you must take St. Mary's church as you find it.

It has been already observed, that St. Mary's Church was built at different times, and, accordingly, after the taste of different architects. The present building was begun 16th May, 1478[c], the old church being pulled

[a] Vitruvius has observed, that some of the ancient architects did not think so. *Rudiments of Ancient Architecture*, p. 31. Notwithstanding this, the most ancient Grecian temples were built after this order. See Mr. Edmund Aikin's *Essay* as above.

[b] Of this peculiar *fitness*, depending partly on our sense of vision, and partly on the association of ideas, of the Gothic style, there is, I believe, but one opinion:

But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister pale,
And love the high embossed roof,
With antic pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.

Milton's Il Penseroso.

See particularly Warton's note in this passage, in reference to Gothic churches, in his edit. of Milton's *Poems on several Occasions*.

[c] Blomefield's Collectanea, p. 9'.

down, and finished in 1519, without towers, the latter being built by degrees afterwards, and finished in 1608, so that, from the beginning to the completing of it, were no less than 130 years. Henry VIIth was a great benefactor to it; and Bishop Alcock one of the principal designers.

It is in what is called the Gothic taste, and it was built in that period, when the ornamental and florid styles prevailed; but possessing little expressive of those styles, it cannot, I apprehend, be properly described by either of those terms. On the exterior there is no ornament: the tower has no height, and what is remarkable, the pinnacles are rounded off, not very elegantly, with balls; it has a parapet, which encircles the whole building. The gateway is in a good style; the most ancient parts of it are those accompanied with the low eastern towers: as a whole, the nave and all the interior component parts being taken, with the exterior, St. Mary's church is considered a light and beautiful building.

The various inscriptions on the monuments here, which are neither numerous nor remarkable, together with various benefactions, given to the parish, as copied from the tables placed between the church and chancel, may be seen in Mr. Blomefield's Collectanea.

The University Library fronts you to the west. It consists of four compartments, that overtop the quadrangle, which composes the public schools. The internal contents relate more immediately to the literature of the place[a], and externally, only the eastern front is

[a] Occasional allusions to books and MSS. (and they can only be slight), will be occasionally, and have been already interspersed in this work. The reader is referred for an account of the Sandwich marbles,

seen, which is a modern building, accompanied with a cloistered portico, balustrade, and other ornaments. The interior is a fine room: and the exterior structure, seen by itself, or in the vicinity of less magnificent objects, would obtain much praise; but surveying it between King's College Chapel and the Senate-house, the eye is not sufficiently at leisure to admire. This part was built in 1755.—A word or two on the public schools.

You enter the quadrangle that forms the public schools, through the portico of the public library. It consists of different parts, with different designations; nor were they built at the same time, nor at the expense of a single person. The theological school, which was first built, was erected when the University enlarged St. Mary's Church, partly at their own expense; partly by the aid of some noble benefactors, and legacies bequeathed for the service of the University. Of benefactors, the principal was Sir Robert Thorpe, who died about 1372. The trustees, also, of Sir William Thorpe, brother of Sir Robert, assigned some of his monies, over which they had a discretional power, to the same purpose. This school was finished in the year 1400.

The philosophical school was erected next, being finished about the time with the greater side of the public library, which was over it. They were raised on ground, which, in part, belonged to the University, in part, to a private gentleman, and to the garden of St. Mary's, for which the University paid a yearly rent to Corpus Christi College. The public disputations used to be held before

&c. to the proper GUIDES, and for an account of the wonderful colossal Head of Ceres, &c. brought by Mr. Cripps, and Dr. Clarke, from Greece, and placed in the vestibule of the Public Library, to the TESTIMONIES respecting the statue of Ceres, printed at Cambridge, in 1803.

in a small school that was formerly in the garden of Gonville and Caius College. Afterwards, in 1458, by a decree of Laurence, Bishop of Durham, with the consent of the University, in full congregation, it was provided, that the building, formerly called the school of Terence, should be converted into a school of civil law; and that the lower dialectic schools should be finished. The former was done at the expense of those who studied the law; the latter, by contributions raised in the University; and it was finished in the year 1474.

The *small* schools, as they were called, were built in 1470, by the subscriptions of members of the University. In one of these, every morning, from eight to nine, masters of arts read lectures, from which questions were formed, and afterwards discussed in utramq. partem, by respondencies and opponencies in the philosophical school; and in the school, in which these lectures were thus formerly given, the vice-chancellor afterwards held his court. This was under that part of the public library, founded by Archbishop Rotheram, and I have thought proper closely to follow the steps of Archbishop Parker, in the above account of the public schools[a].

Rotheram, Archbishop of York, just mentioned, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, with various other benefactors, presented the library with many valuable MSS. and some of our most early printed books. It was not, however, of the genius of the times, about the period of the invention of printing, to have large collections, nor to be tenants in perpetuity of all they got[b]. But in the pro-

[a] Hist. Cantab. Acad.

[b] Caius, (Hist. Cantab. lib. ii. p. 82.) speaking of Archbishop Rotheram's library, says, "Quorum magna adhuc superest, magna periit suf-

gress of time, great additions were made. Till gradually enriched by other presents, more particularly by Dr. Moore's valuable library, purchased, and given to the University, by George I. as well as by purchases made out of their own funds, this library consists now, of more than ninety thousand volumes.

It appears, from the designs in Mr. Loggan's CANTABRIGIA ILLUSTRATA, that, formerly there was a splendid gateway and pediment[a] at the entrance of the schools, together with the arms of the several benefactors to them; and, from Archbishop Parker's account, that in the windows of the schools, there were similar ornaments: these were removed when the public schools were repaired: the glass was taken away, but whither removed is unknown; I speak after Mr. Cole, who is very severe on persons who receive benefactions, but care not how soon their benefactors' names are obliterated.

With respect to the design and elevation of the public schools, Mr. Loggan well observes, they are rather neat than magnificent, and he has some appropriate observations in reference to the true philosophy of such taste for schools. Of the taste, I shall only add, after a writer

furantium vitio:" p. 85, he gives a list of those that remained in his time, 1574, and they amounted only to one hundred and fifty three, including MSS. and printed books. According to the Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, similar, or worse depredations, had been made in the library given about the same time to Oxford University, by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. As scarcity of provisions makes people turn thieves, so, from paucity of books, the monks became pilferers; more particularly, when there was nothing but MSS. Hence those frequent anathemas, prefixed to books in ancient monasteries: these were the Priapuses, to drive away the thievish birds.

[a] These, I understand, now form an ornament to the house of Sir John Cotton, at Madingley.

of much observation in architecture, that if the public schools and library, which now form this internal quadrangle, (to distinguish it from the grand square,) have not the lofty elevation and splendid display of *the five orders*, like the schools of Oxford, they have none of their faults [a].

[a] Observations on English Architecture, by Mr Dallaway.

CHAP. IV.

BOTANIC GARDEN.

AMONG the English counties, Cambridgeshire had been long known as peculiarly favourable to botanic studies. Ray, our great English botanist, (who began his researches at Cambridge,) long since remarked this; but it was not till the year 1763, that any plan was formed for a botanic garden.

Ray, besides making inquiries in this county, had very early perambulated great part of England in search of plants. In 1660, he published his catalogue of plants that grow about Cambridge[a], and three years after, an appendix. In 1685, Mr. Dent, an apothecary of Cambridge, added to Mr. Ray's catalogue, a great many more. He was succeeded in the same walk, by Mr. Martyn, Miller, and Israel Lyons. *The fasciculus plantarum* of the latter was printed in 1763, as a specimen of a larger work. But after Ray, there were only titular professors of botany. Nothing was seriously done till the time of Mr. Martyn, who read lectures, and perambulated the county: and on his leaving Cambridge, Dr. Heberden gave lectures on Botany in reference to medicine, as already has been shown.

[a] Fasciculus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam nascentium, 1660.

But in the year 1763, Dr. Walker, vice-master of Trinity College, with the assistance of Mr. Miller of Chelsea, formed a regular establishment. A mansion was bought, formerly a monastery of St. Augustines, of which there are still some remains, with a garden and five tenements in Pembroke lane, on the south-east side of the town, for 1600l. These premises were given in trust to the University, for a public botanic garden, and Dr. W. left by will the chancellor trustee; in his absence, the vice-chancellor, the master of Trinity College, the provost of King's College, the master of St. John's College, and the professor of physic, and their successors, for the time being, were appointed inspectors and governors, with full powers to regulate and arrange the new institution.

A botanical garden is a great ornament to a seat of learning; always useful, too, as a place of research and curiosity to students. With respect to this garden, it abounds, as may be expected, with a great variety of foreign, as well as aquatic and indigenous plants, with trees of our own country, as well forest trees, as aquatic and mountain; but, principally of beautiful, curious trees of foreign growth: those of peculiar distinction are of American origin, some derived from the East and West Indies, others from Botany Bay: the last introduced were brought from Greece and Egypt, and more northern climes, by Dr. Clarke and Mr. Cripps. This garden is understood, too, to be kept in excellent order, though there are at present, no regular lectures given in that science—for which solely it was instituted—botany [a]. But the old house has been long since removed, new buildings have

[a] This is said merely in a way of statement, not of censure. There may be reasons for the omission, with which I am not acquainted.

been erected in its place, two lecture-rooms been built, and every provision made, suited to the purpose of giving lectures in botany and chemistry: and as for the former the garden itself presents a sort of natural apparatus, so, for the latter, an appropriate one has been provided on the spot by the University: here lectures are given in mineralogy, experimental philosophy, and chemistry. Here too, are delivered the experimental lectures of Mr. Farish, of which mention has already been made.

The green-house---but---though

> Who loves a garden loves a green-house too.
>
> *Cowper.*

I shall not describe the green-house. An account of its order, economy, and *varieties*,

> — foreigners from many lands,
> They form one social shade, as if convened
> By magic summons of the Orphean lyre[a].

belongs to the botanist, and there is a copious catalogue of the contents of this garden, by the late botanical gardener, Mr. Donn.

It is obvious to observe, that the impression made upon the mind, on contemplating such a spot as this, is not connected with that pleasing science, called landscape-gardening, so well illustrated, as before observed, by Monsieur d'Ermenonville, and Mr. Mason. In the latter case, the pleasure depends on design, (for it is a species of painting,) on detail, the fitting of parts to each other, and to the face of the country; to the effect of perspective, of proper distances, and the influence of lights and

[a] Cowper's Description of a Green-house, in book iii. of the Task.

shades. Nor does it arise from any stateliness, or magnificence, by which art combines with nature, to form the majestic, extended park,

> ——— where over-head upgrow
> Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
> Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
> A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend
> Shade above shade, a woody theatre
> Of stateliest view
>
> *Milton.*

nor does it arise from a mere diversity of tints, nor the agreeable variety of odorous sweets, as in a flower-garden. A university botanic-garden combines the gratifications of sense with those of association and intellect. and in reference to its more peculiar object, resembles the closet of a student, which comprehends the productions of genius in every climate This is the more habitual feeling. Occasionally walking in such a garden, composed of trees, and plants, and flowers, of different countries, and different growth, resembles conversing with people of all climates and languages, as the delight experienced in a plain English garden, does a conversation with a more intimate friend. And this must suffice for the Botanic Garden.

Art thou, young student, the child of fancy? Then, may'st thou indulge it in yon Botanic Garden.

> It is a rural seat, of various hue.
>
> *Milton.*

Thou may'st occasionally choose, perhaps, to adopt the theory, and borrow the language of one of your predecessors, a Cambridge-poet, and to say with him, "Whereas, P. Ovidius Naso, a great necromancer, in the famous

court of Augustus Cæsar, did, by art poetic, transmute men, women, and even gods and godesses, into trees and flowers, I will undertake, by similar art, to restore some of them to their original animality, after having remained prisoners so long in their respective vegetable mansions[a]." And if criticism authorizes poetry to give to "airy nothings a local habitation and a name," Who shall say thou art not justified in giving to the vegetable tribes animal existence, and by an easy, regular ascent, to endue them with delicate passions, and to confer on them pretty, feminine names?

And thus far is general in reference to the University. Here, perhaps, I might descend still lower, from generals to particulars: for, what concerns the admission and examinations of youth, when entering a college, and the course of studies, pursued by undergraduates; as well as the exercises in the public schools and senate-house, previously to the taking of degrees, together with the ceremonies to be performed, the prizes to be obtained, the honours to be conferred, and the subscriptions to be required; and, again, the different orders and ranks of graduates, and the various officers of the University, with their habits, duties, fees, and emoluments; nor less the defects in some offices, with the improvements which might be made in them; these particulars, I allow, might all find their proper place in an University-history professing minuteness: but my history does not, and cannot admit of it. Besides, there are distinct accounts, where such subjects are separately handled, and exclusively considered; and, I believe—for they are drawn up by official, at least by college men, with critical correctness and professional care.

[a] Proem to Darwin's Botanic Garden

Further still, the present state, the settled funds,* the government of the University, with the regulations of private colleges; the condition of the press[a], with an account of the books printed, and a comparison, in regard to its finances, condition, and management, with the Clarendon-press at Oxford, all these things might afford some amusement, and are naturally enough connected with the Literary History of the University of Cambridge.

But each of the above subjects, with suitable reflections, might form a distinct chapter, and all together, compose a tolerable volume: a brief zigzag account would have been trifling, scarcely consistent with the dignity of history; and one, extended, would have been too multifarious for my present views: so I shall pass them. He who wishes to be amused, and properly in-

* I cannot help noticing here, that the first book supposed by Mr. G. North to have been printed here, was only *compiled*; it was printed at St. Alban's in 1480. The Correspondence between Mr. North and Mr. Ames on the subject may be seen, vol. v. p. 431, of Nichols's Anecdotes, and the matter is set right by Mr. Ames, Typograph. Antiq. vol. v. 431, by Herbert. Mr. A. supposes the book first printed at Cambridge was in 1521.

Nor can I forbear just noticing one extraordinary improvement, introduced into the printing office, by means of the Stanhope stereotype press, by which the copies of more saleable books are wonderfully multiplied; which, whether it be a discovery, or only the realizing of a discovery, and giving effect to it, matters not; it is an improvement of prodigious extent and utility, for which we are indebted to the ingenious nobleman, whose name it bears: he has carried the same principle into engravings, which may be multiplied in a similar proportion: the new Porsonian Greek type, also, (called after the late Greek professor, who introduced it) may be mentioned as an improvement on, and giving a more elegant and beautiful form to, the Greek letters. Specimens of this type may be seen in Mr. Blomfield's edition of Æschylus's Prometheus, and in Mr. Monk's edition of Euripides's Hippolytus Coronifer.

formed on these particulars, will do well to consult the several treatises in the notes [a].

I shall just add here, that the hostels, or inns, were, even in Dr. Caius's time, seventeen, besides three hospitals for regulars. The colleges and halls are now sixteen, the members two thousand and three hundred. By the Population Abstract, May, 1811, the resident members at Oxford were one thousand and fifteen; at Cambridge, eight hundred and fourteen. So to proceed in order with our Colleges.

[a] Hints respecting some of the University Officers, its Jurisdiction, its Revenues, &c. of the University of Cambridge. By Robert Plumptre, D.D. late Master of Queen's College.—An Account of Ceremonies and Customs, &c. By Mr. Wall, late Fellow of Christ College.—An Account of Officers, Forms in taking Degrees, &c. By Mr. Beverley, one of the present Esquire beadles. The Cambridge Guide, and University Calendars: though, indeed, several of the matters above referred to are to be found in two or three of the Histories of Cambridge.

APPENDIX.

I HAVE hinted, more than once, in the preceding volume, that my history would not attempt a detail in regard to academical habits, degrees, &c. but a friend having asked me the meaning of the term, Bachelor of Arts, and suggested whether bachelor did not mean bas chevalier, an inferior knight, I was led to see the expediency of saying something, at least, on degrees, previously to beginning the next volume, where the word will be perpetually recurring: and so, finding two or three pages at the end unoccupied, I place my few observations where the introduction of them will not interrupt the general course of the history.

It has already been observed, that our college-language is derived from the church and monastery. In the first Christian churches, Bishops, or Presbyters, (I have nothing to do here with the dispute, whether they were different, or the same offices,) and Deacons were two orders, or degrees. *They that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good* DEGREE. 1 Tim. iii. 13. περιποιοῦνται — *alienam rem* sibi *vindicant*, Budæi

Comment. Ling. Græc. p. 663. Dr. Harwood, in his Greek Test. vol. ii. p. 139, on the word, βαθμὸν, observes, βαθμὸν, *a step*, i. e. they lay a good foundation for the *ministerial* office, and quotes Livy: *Gradus, ex quo aliquis ad consulatum videbatur.*—The Doctor, however, should have said, the episcopal, pastoral, or presbyter's office, for Διακονια *was* the ministerial office.—In the writings of the apostolical fathers, Clement's and Ignatius's Epistles, &c. (whatever authority we choose to allow them) great stress is laid on these distinct orders, or degrees.

Some of our Saxon ancestors had, very early, seven degrees in the church. Thus, in the laws of Withtræd, King of Kent, "the gifts of the Holy Spirit, it is said, are sevenfold: and *and there are seven ranks of ecclesiastical degrees*, [illegible]." *Order*, is another name for *degrees*. Augustine, in the old Salisbury Breviary, is said to have been admitted to the order or degree of presbyter, and afterwards admitted to the order, or degree of a bishop, the word, as it is well known, still retained in the English church. But when we speak of deacons *orders*, priests *orders*, strictly speaking, we talk incorrectly, though the phrase is sanctioned by custom. From the church the word passed into monasteries and colleges. Even in nunneries, deaconesses, and abbatesses, &c. were abbatissæ, diaconissæ, &c. were *ordinatæ*.

Whence we *immediately* get our degrees of B. A. and M. A. of B. D. and D. D. &c. (and more particularly in reference to the word, bachelor,) when they were first introduced, and whence the word itself is derived, is not so clear as to admit of no dispute. The batchelor, in ancient writings, is sometimes called baccalaurius, sometimes bacculaurius, or baculaurius, and, in the French and old Norman, bacheler, bachelier, bachiler.

As to the baccalaurus, derived, as some say, from the bacca lauri, the laurel, or ivy, with which he was crowned, if any custom had prevailed of crowning the *incipients* in the arts and sciences, as they are called, the A. B.s and B. D.s, &c. with the laurel or bay, we might sit down content with that etymology. But the *laurus Apollinaris* has, if I mistake not, been always appropriated to the poet, and the practice of crowning the *archipoeta* with laurel, continued in Italy till a very late period. We have all heard of a laureated poet; but I have not, at least, heard of a laureated A. B.

> Salve, brassicea virens corona,
> Et lauro, archipoeta, pampinoque,
> Dignus principis auribus Leonis.
>
> *Vid. Strada Prolusion.* p. 222.

Dr. Johnson's "most probable derivation," in his Dictionary, "from bachelors being young, and of good hopes, like the berry of a laurel, or bay," is too ridiculous to deserve notice: and when the learned Dufresne talks of bajulare, il quali mostrava gran baculare, cioe gran dottore:" as he deals only in generals, without producing authorities, it amounts to nothing. The same, also, may be said of Dr. Cowel's passage from Rhenanus, "A bacillo nominati sunt quia primi studii authoritatem, quæ per exhibitionem baculi considebatur, jam consecuti fuissent." See Dr. Cowel's INTERPRETER. For I do not remember to have heard more of the bachelor's staff, than of his laurel.

A bachelor is defined the first degree, taken in any faculty, to arrive at a doctorate; it might be added, or mastership, for, in our old university records we have no

doctors, only masters, (magistri.) And again, bacheler, qui est promu au baccalaureat en quelque faculte: and, again, on apelloit aussi bachelier un jeun gentilhomme, qui servoit sous la banniere d'un autre: *Dictionaire de l'Academie:* and so, Kelham, in his *Norman* French Dictionary, bachelier, bachiler, a batchelor, a young esquire, or knight.

Thus, too, the learned civilian, Dr. Cowel, "Bas chevaliers," low or inferior knights, by tenure of a base military fee, as distinguished from baronets and bannerets, who were the chief or superior knights: hence we call our bare, simple knights, inferior to baronets, &c. knights bachelors, i. e. bas chevaliers, which, in all likelihood, gave name to the academical degrees of bachelors; as a quality lower than that of masters and doctors.

It has been already shewn, that the literature of our schools was fashioned according to that of the Normans, and introduced by them, after the Conquest; and it was natural, whenever our bachelerie was formed, that it should be derived from that source, particularly when we recollect how the Norman French was affected in almost every thing. The word bachelor is not of Saxon, but of Norman French origin, as appears, both in the sense, and from the way of spelling the word: thus Chaucer, who introduced so much French into our language;

> With him there was his sonne, a yonge squire,
> A lover and a lusty bacheler.
>
> *Prologue to the Squire's Tale.*

and again,

> Yong, freshe, and strong, in armes desirous
> As any bacheler of all his hous.
>
> *Squire's Tale.*

where it means, un chevelier bacheler, a knight bachelor, corresponding, both in sense and sound, to the word in the Romance Poets, as quoted by Dufresne ; (Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinit.) in reference to which, un bacheler is a young, a poor, or a low knight.

I therefore think Dufresne is more happy in a latter conclusion, than in his former. From different writers he gives this definition, " Bachalarii qui in eo gradu sunt, ut ad doctoratum, aspirare possint, quemadmodum baccalarii militares adolescentes, qui ad banneretorum gradum perinde aspirant : Glossarium. ut supra.

An A. B. then, I take to be an *incipient* in the arts, one in the way to an A. M. a B. D. an incipient in the way to a D. D. and accordingly, in an antient statute of the university of Paris, it runs, " Cursor (baccalarius) in theologia inter primum cursum & sententias, tenebitur respondere in theologia, ad minus semel de disputatione tentativa sub magistro. " In the same sense,' says Dr. Cowel, (INTERPRETER,) " the bachelors of the companies of London, be such of each company as are springing towards the estate of those who are employed in council, but as yet are inferior."—But see the same under the word BOUCHE OF COURT, where is an indenture in the Norman French, which gives a most minute account of the bas chevalier.

The first time I meet with the mention of a doctor's degree, in Hare's Titles, 'tis in 1391[a], the fourteenth year of Rich II.'s reign, and of artium baccalaurus, in 1410, the eleventh year of Henry IV. on an occasion

[a] Literæ patentes ne apostatæ fratres ordinis prædicatorum, &c. admittantur ad *honorem doctoralem* in theologia in aliqua duarum academiarum. Hare's Titles to Collections.

already referred to. With respect to the latter, I do not affirm that it was not created before that period. It certainly was, as appears by the literæ regiæ of Hen. V., 1413[a]. But *masters* only were the order for a considerable time downward, from the reign of Henry III. as I perceive by all the titles to Hare's Collections—the chancellor himself, who was a residing member of the university, being called only magister, and as I infer from many ancient instruments, where, besides the custos, mention is only made of magistri and scholares, never of baccalauri, nor even socii.

Yet *doctor* we certainly meet with often enough. Thus in the calendar of the Salisbury Portiforium, Augustine is called, episcopus et doctor, and at the bottom of the page,

Cum Augustinum doctorem, Job lege justum.

Yet Oswald, who wrote this Service Book, and died Bishop of Salisbury, A. 1099, (Godwin. de Præsul. Angl. p. 337.) was no graduated D. D. himself. In an Athenæ Cantabrigienses, written by a Mr. Drake Morris, and inserted in Mr. Cole's MSS. (vol. 55) the author says, Norton, a Carmelite, was the first of his order, who was made a Doctor in Divinity. The writer, however, never once produces his authorities for any thing: but I suppose he follows only Dr. Fuller, or Leland, the latter of whom he quotes,

Laudibus Humphredum Nortonum super astra ferentes,
Cui data Grantanæ laurea prima scholæ.

Twine, the Oxford antiquary, interpreting this passage of

[a] Literæ regiæ, de modo observandi statutum [illegible] 176, de habitibus baccalaureorum.

Leland's, makes Necton, not merely the first of his order, "but absolutely the first that ever took the degree of doctorship, at Cambridge;" at which Fuller, from his zeal for our Alma Mater, turns very indignant, and quotes Petrus Blesensis, as saying, that, even in his time, many masters and doctors went forth from Cambridge, and made glad the Church and all England: where, yet, I suspect, Fuller is misled by the vagueness of the word doctor; where it may stand for teacher, as in the Salisbury Breviary: and, even allowing Fuller's sense, that Necton was the first Carmelite only, that took this doctorate, it may only mean graduating in general, doctor being synonymous with master, and the Carmelites having, hitherto, not graduated at all. I do not remember, that even the founders and first benefactors of our colleges, are ever styled doctors in ancient instruments, but merely Hugh de Balsham, John de Bottlesham, Walter de Merton, &c., and the first time, the honor doctoralis in theologia, occurs in the titles of Hare's Collections, is towards the latter end of Rich. II's reign. So, that till I am better informed, I am not prepared to say, the Oxford antiquary is wrong.

Of civil law, Dufresne says, Baccalariatus vero, vel doctoratus in *academiis Anglicis* gradus non obtinent, ut observat Jo. Fortescue de Laudibus, Leg. Ang. cap. 50. But Dufresne greatly errs: Sir John Fortescue says directly the reverse. He says, indeed, that in the *inns of court* men do not take the bachelors and doctors degree, sicut in Universitatibus [illegible] *tribui est dare con*[illegible], but only that of serjeant, qui *gradus servientis ad legem* appellatur. Dufresne grossly mistakes the whole drift of that chapter. The civil and canon law were the prevailing study at both our universities, in the time of Fortescue, (in Henry VI. reign,) and the doctor utriusq.

legis was a very common degree. I have read, in a MS. copied from the archives of Trinity Hall, that Dr. Bateman, bishop of Norwich, founder of that college for students in civil law and 1350 took his doctor's degree when he was thirty, and I am greatly mistaken, if he was not utriusq legis, Dr. Bateman being described in that MS. as, utriusq legis peritiorum flos praecipuus. Bateman was educated at Cambridge, and Bishop Godwin calls him, *legum doctor*. *De Præsul. Ang.* But it is certain this degree was very commonly given after the foundation of Trinity Hall, whenever it commenced.

I have already shown, from Archbishop Parker's History, that we had graduates in grammar, (magistri grammaticæ,) distinct from the arts, viz. from 1500 to 1540; there it seems to have stopt, for I find not one after, and only two for several years before. I suspect they began, when the twenty four scholars for grammar were, according to the *Petition* of *Byngham*, to be subjected to Clare Hall, (see vol. ii. under Clare Hall,) for the purpose of being instructed in grammar. It is there expressly said, in an ancient instrument, they went to *graduate* in *grammar*, for the purpose of being placed in different parts of England, to instruct in it, great ignorance of grammar prevailing all over England, and "Lyflode not being *ordeyned* and *endued* for it in the university, as for all other liberal sciences."

We have seen the origin of the last letters, in A. B. and A. M.; the A for arts, is retained from the old schools—in which the septem Artes liberales et ingenuæ are so well known—as I apprehend we do L. L. D. from the two, laws, civil and canon, Utriusq. legis doctor, though, now, there is no degree taken in canon law, nor is there assigned to it any professorship. The S. T. P. Sanctæ Theolog. Professor, is of the same import as D. D.

A person may commence A. B. after three years standing, A. M. about four years after: seven years after the A. M. degree, the B. D. may be taken, and five years after that he may be made S. T. P. or D. D. He may be a L. B. after six years standing, in physic after five, though these latter degrees are seldom now taken, (and never, in some universities,) by gentlemen commencing and immediately proceeding doctors, without the usual preparatory gradus, or, via ad honores, of the bachelor. The same of Mus. D. doctor of music.

The printer having informed me, that he has two or three pages left which require filling, I take up my pen to satisfy his demands; which I mention, because I had previously informed the reader, that I did not purpose to enter into the minutiæ of university customs, for want of room. But a space still remaining, I shall now proceed, till the printer orders me to stop.

Each of the above degrees, then, hath its peculiar habit. It would be as difficult to ascertain the origin of peculiar habits in literature, as marks of distinction and honour, as to state the origin of all marks in heraldry: but we find them as well among the Greeks and Romans as among the Jews, the Magi of the East, and our own Druidical order. As to our *particular* habits, they seem to have the same origin as the institutions themselves, viz. from religious houses. The monastic orders were not only distinguished by the names of their peculiar saints, their rules, and services, but by their habits: it is natural to suppose, that as our scholars came from those houses, and retained some of their customs, they would derive from the same source something of their dress. Thus, for example, the undergraduate has a gown resembling that of the monastics, the Colobium sine manicis[a]:

[a] Vid. Dufresne. Gloss. in loco.

the master of arts, in some resembling that of the canons regular, who lived after, according to the *rules* or *canons* of Augustine; and hence their name. The Augustines wore a black robe. The Benedictines and Cistercians had their distinguishing colours, the former black, the latter white[a], which each considered as an emblem of his order: Cum hæc vestrum *nigredo* antiquitus humilitatis causa a Patribus inventa,—cum a vobis rejicitur, said the Benedictines to the Cistercians, meliores vos ipsos candorem inusitatam præferendo indicatis: *Petrus Cluniacensis, Lib.* 4. So, again, hanc autem nigredinem, quæ primi patres, tam regulares clerici in cappis, quam monachi in cucullis, ob humilitatis specimen usi sunt.—Hence our cap and hood—though their *hood* covered the head, ours, perhaps, more resembles the scapulary of the Carmelites[b].—Of the same origin is the *scarlet robe* of our professors[c]. At Glasgow, the students wear a scarlet gown. What we have said of professors' habits, we might say of that of noblemen's, including baronet's, but all must be taken with allowance for such additional ornaments, as may have been introduced in a later age.

Some, it is well known, both in former and the present times, have objected to these habits on account of their origin. But, if we object to every thing that has passed through popish hands, and for no other reasons, we must carry the objection, where it would not apply; and many of those who have made the objection have been inconsistent. The habits in our churches, and in our universities may, and certainly have, the same origin: and men who make objections, if they would be now consistent,

[b] Anglica, p. 300.

[c] Ανδρεία, Super... erale, or, perhaps, more still, ... Meles.

must carry the objection further: the Presbyterian should lay aside his robe, the Independent the solitary patch of band, and all, the *ominous* black coat, (I speak now the language of William Penn,) for all these our ministerial and graduatorial distinctions must be allowed to have the same origin.

'Were I disposed to object to them, and were this the proper place, I should object to them on different ground. But my business is rather to state than to censure, or to commend. As these dresses are now considered, they are only made honorary dresses, or as the characteristic marks of gentlemen's standing in the university. In Mr. Loggan's Cantabrigia Illustrata, are fine representations of persons of all ranks in the university, in their different habits.

EXERCISES for degrees often give proofs of literary eminence: but those who know how they may be obtained, and how not, in all the professions, will not lay stress on them, nor think less of those, who have not chosen to take them. Advantages are attached to them, and it is desirable, that no obstructions should be laid in their way. In the ensuing volume, their only use is, to identify persons, to settle dates, and to show the rank of members of the Academical Body.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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